# THE HOUSE OF AIRLIE

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BLANCHE, COUNTESS OF AIRLIE.
(From portrait at Cortachy Castle.)



# THE HOUSE OF AIRLIE

BY

### THE REVEREND WILLIAM WILSON

MINISTER OF AIRLIE
AUTHOR OF "AIRLIE, A PARISH HISTORY"

VOL. II

WITH PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.
1924

# PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY

BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ESHER

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## PART III (continued)

CORTACHY



### JAMES, SECOND EARL OF AIRLIE

While the late Earl may be regarded as the strong man of the House of Airlie, for bold adventure, romance and chivalry, and ingenuity of resource, the second Earl is easily the flower of the family. Of great good-humour, of boyish mirth, of happy camaraderie, yet brave, resolute, regardless of all danger or possible consequences, he was pre-eminently a leader of men, a loyal comrade, and a devoted adherent to the cause which, in the fulness of his heart, he espoused. Born at Airlie Castle about Christmas in the year 1611, he succeeded to the title and estates on the death of his father in 1666. He was thus well into the discreet period of life when he assumed the family honours and took over the responsibility of a large and important property. By this time, however, he had behind him a life full of adventure, of striking incident, and perilous enterprise, though with a measure of bad luck which may have been due to his daring spirit, but which followed him as closely as his own shadow. He was in prison often and for lengthened periods, but these internments in no way cooled his temper, nor did his ardour for his ideal abate by the hardships he endured, or the perils he on more than one occasion so narrowly escaped. All the romance, and chivalry. and loval devotion of the Ogilvys for King and country centre around the second Earl of Airlie, whose changeful lot and spirited history mark him out as an interesting member of the family. Of course, as may be expected, many circumstances, which may be likely to give an interest to his character and history, have been necessarily connected with the life of his father, but as he had an individuality that was all his own, and a fortune particular to himself, while there will be no needless rehearsal of historic scenes, there will necessarily be a return to the Royalist movement, though the staging

will be for the most part different, in giving a general sketch of his eventful career, and of his nature, moral and intellectual, and in presenting a picture of his outlook on life, and the part he played in the political fortunes of his time.

Unlike his father, who was of strong build and stately carriage, Lord Ogilvy is described by Sir Patrick Lyon of Carse. a Lord of Session in the reign of Charles II., as "a little light man." He was under the average height; of spare build—thin, wiry, athletic; of light brown hair, fresh complexion, and large, luminous eyes that were more dreamy than penetrating. If unlike his father in stature, he was also unlike him in temperament. Whereas the late Earl was cool, calculating, and deliberate in all his movements, with a prescience that was remarkable, his son was restless, impulsive, and rashly daring. He did not, like his parent, calmly reconnoitre the situation and patiently await the opportune moment for decision or action, but plunged at once with all the fire and energy of his nature into the heat of every controversy and into the thick of every fight without regard to consequences. He was a zealot in every cause he espoused, and in the politics of his time, as might be expected, he was an ardent and unflinching Royalist. In one other particular he was greatly unlike his father, and it was the only matter on which he was lukewarm and dilatory: he had a great distaste for the business of ordinary life. Like Mr. Bicknell of Edgeworth fame, "he had some of the too usual faults of a man of genius; he detested the drudgery of business." Nor was it lack of capacity, but want of taste. The routine matters of estate management had little attraction for him in his earlier years; these being too prosaic and monotonous for his high-strung, romantic temperament. Patrick, third Earl of Strathmore, his contemporary, has recorded of him that "he was slow in business." This trait of character, however, was quite of a piece with the spirit of his life, which was inspired by the poetry of action; while the clash of conflict was like music to his soul. But apart from any disinclina-

tion he may have had to engage his mind on such simple rustic matters as oats and barley; cattle and poultry; byres and barns; the political situation of the country when he was in the flush of manhood was such that he could not very well avoid, both on the ground of his traditional inclination and his attached friendship. becoming absorbed in questions of high policy: and as he was whole-hearted in every enterprise on which he embarked, he soon found himself deeply involved in the affairs of the kingdom, and especially on the disputed authority of the King and the thorny problems of ecclesiastical polity. On the former, he was a staunch Royalist; and, not excepting the Marquis of Montrose, Charles I. had no bolder spirit in the ranks of his supporters than Lord Ogilvy; while Charles II. found in him a devoted, if not at times a too ardent adherent. If "slow in business," he was always to the front where deeds of valour were called for, and instead of the spur required the restraint of the curb.

The early years of his life were spent at Airlie Castle. the scenic beauty and magnificent grandeur of which would be an inspiration to one of his lively imagination and eager, receptive mind. The situation is particularly romantic. It has already been referred to, but it is richly deserving of further comment. Perched on a perpendicular promontory of great height, the historical Castle of Airlie was a strong and noble fortalice. Surrounded by the Den, whose lofty banks and lichencovered cliffs; bold projecting rocks and rough woodlands: richly embroidered with all manner of wildflowers, whose perfume floats on the summer breeze; and clothed with every variety of natural brushwood; while the waters of the Isla and Melgam flow through its deep and rocky channels—it affords one of the finest pictures of romantic scenery that can be met with anywhere; being rich in interest not only to the botanist, but to every lover of natural beauty, and of old Scottish song and story. To the botanical student especially, the Den of Airlie is classical ground, the favourite resort of the elder Don and the scene of his earliest discoveries. It

is a picture, as the illustration shows, which not only delights the eye and fascinates the mind, but appeals to the fancy and stirs the imagination. Here the romantic elements which the heir to the House of Airlie had inherited in his blood would find free scope in which to revel to his heart's content. The lands of Airlie, too, were of a like nature. To the north and west of the Castle lies a great stretch of mountainous country over which the Ogilvys ruled supreme, while at Forther, where he would spend part of the summer and early autumn, he might look across the hills to the west, where lived his ancestral foes. Such a country, at such a time, made hardy men and gave rise to stirring deeds.

The education of a nobleman's family at this period was attended to with care and discrimination. For more than a century before this time, the eldest son and heir was carefully nurtured in classical learning, in general history, and in a knowledge of the laws and Constitution of the country. This had been made compulsory by an Act of Parliament so early as 1494, in the reign of James IV., which enjoined:

"That all Barrones and freehalders that are of substance put thair eldest sonnes and aires to the Schules fra thay be six or nine yeris of age, and till remaine at Ye Grammar Schules quhil thay be competenlie founded, and have perfite Latin: and thairefter to remaine thrie yeris at Ye Schule of Art and Jure, swa that thay have understanding of ye laws."

This Act of the Scottish Parliament contributed much to the advancement of learning throughout the country, while the invention of printing shortly before this period gave the necessary stimulus. After the Reformation, especially, education amongst the nobility became a passion; and whereas, in the early part of the sixteenth century the great majority of the said "Barrones and freehalders" could neither read nor write, all correspondence being conducted through the medium of the priests and monks, by the beginning of the seventeenth century a liberal education, and particularly a thorough knowledge of the classics, was regarded as the indispensable equipment of a young nobleman's life.

If Lord Macaulay's account of the condition of things, social and educational, among the nobility and gentry of England, is to be accepted as a true description "at the time of the Revolution," Scotland in this respect showed a marked superiority both in the sphere of education and in the socialities and refinements of domestic life. Of this period he wrote:

"The heir of an estate often passed his boyhood and youth at the seat of the family, with no better Tutors than grooms and gamekeepers, and scarce attained learning enough to sign his name to a mitimus. If he went to School and College, he generally returned before he was twenty to the seclusion of the old Hall, and there, unless his mind were very happily constituted by nature, soon forgot his academical pursuits in rural business and pleasures. His chief serious employment was the care of the property. He examined samples of grain, handled pigs, and on market-days made bargains over a tankard with drovers and hop merchants. His chief pleasures were commonly derived from field sports and from an unrefined sensuality."

There would be, as of course there were, many exceptions to this sweeping statement of the noble author of "The History of England"; but the fact that he felt justified in making it serves to show that Scotland at this period was at least a century in advance of the sister kingdom in the general diffusion of learning, and particularly so among the families of the nobility and gentry.

The tutor of a nobleman's family, at this time and for more than a century after, was usually a licentiate of the Church. He was not always the simple-minded creature portrayed by Sir Walter Scott in "Dominie Sampson" or "Reuben Butler." As a rule, the tutor of the highest families was a man of ripe scholarship, of refinement and culture, and, aspiring to a benefice, of high character. Indeed, the most distinguished University graduates were generally selected by the nobility for this office, and these were always open for such appointments; as in the days of Church patronage such engagements were recognised as the avenues to promotion. Lord Ogilvy was placed under a tutor of scholarly

repute—Mr. William Robertson, a graduate of St. Andrews University—at an early age, and prosecuted his studies under the domestic roof till, in the year 1626, he entered the University of the Fife city. There, as a fellow-student, he had his cousin-german of kindred spirit, the Earl of Montrose, who was his junior by a few months. Lord Ogilvy took the full curriculum of study in arts of four winter sessions, and diversified the studies of Latin and Greek, mathematics and metaphysics, heroic and romantic history, with field-sports of a delightfully catholic range; such as hunting, hawking, horse-racing, archery, and golf, and, more than likely, fencing. Mens sana in corpore sano was in those days a recognised principle, actively encouraged, of University life, as James Melville has put on record that—

"Wee war be oure Maister teachit to handle the bow for archerie, the glub for goff, the batons for fencing, also to rin, to leape, to swoom, to warsell."

In which physical exercises Lord Ogilvy took an active part, and in all he was highly proficient, though his nimble cousin carried off the coveted prize in archery, which was then regarded as the blue ribbon of the sport side of the University life. His father seems to have kept him not too well supplied with funds, nor was his wardrobe too richly provided with change of raiment. He frequently ran short of money, and as frequently was he out at the elbow. Alongside his dandy cousin, who was always richly apparelled and well provided with funds, Lord Ogilvy resented the over rigid economy of his parents. William Robertson, the tutor, had evidently no small body of sympathy with his pupil under the circumstances, as on 3rd April, 1630, he wrote to the Earl of Airlie, requesting supplies of money for current bills, and took occasion to remark:

"Lykewayes, the debursement of for your children ar werie factious and burdensome to me. Youre sone, James, taketh in werie evil pairt yat youre Lordship sendis and allowis so little

spending to him. I hop yat youre Lordship will remember yat youre sonnes cloathes thay are werie indigent off cuffis and bandis, quhilk I acquented my Leddie with."

This letter apparently had not succeeded in "drawing the badger," as a month later the tutor writes

"that the Master of Ogilvy has subscribed a bond in St. Salvator's College and I pray you to send money for the said expenses."

The father knew his boy's nature too well to give him a free hand and liberal supplies, as, in his careless habit as out of the generosity of his heart, he would have emptied his pocket to the first mendicant he met on the roadway who could tell him a pitiful tale. It was not niggardliness but thoughtfulness which led to the stringent provision. Lord Ogilvy, in after-years-and in this the boy was father to the man-gave more than he had to give to a needy friend, and gave though he had to want himself. In spite of the short allowances and the economy in outfit, he enjoyed his experience at St. Andrews and made good progress in his studies. and the Earl of Montrose were boon companions, and although Lord Ogilvy had not the brilliant intellect of his cousin, they had much in common, were kindred in temperament, and of a like ideal. The following session, the last of his course, he enrolled at St. Salvator's, and his tutor gives account of his stewardship, recording.

- "that the Fees of the Colleges have been raised, imposing to Primaris £6, and 5 Lib to Secondaris by and out over the ordinair buird."
- The tutor's report on the diligence of his pupil would be gratefully received at Airlie Castle. They might not expect him to head the prize-list—it might even have come to them as a great surprise that he had succeeded in doing so; but, under the peculiar circumstances which might easily have unsettled his mind for close concentration, it was pleasing to them that he had applied himself diligently to those particular branches of learning on which he was engaged. Yet it must be admitted,

in puzzling over a geometric figure, a figure of another kind frequently crept into his mind—that of a fair young lady away in the far north, where the salt sea waves dashed upon a wild, rocky coast, who was longing for his presence, and at that moment might be sending his books of Euclid and Psychology far enough away. In his necessarily divided attention, however, he made progress in his different studies, as may be gathered from William Robertson's report:

"As for his progress in his studies, he hath nearly endit his Logicks, and now is occupyit for ye maist pairt in studying to some principles of Geometrie, whairin he delyteth much, and his diligence in his studies is far beyond my expectation; Yea, he regretteth daylie yat he was permittit to pass ower his last vacance so ydlie. His Gudpatir, the Erle hath saluted him wt ane pithie missive, fatherly exhorting him to go forward in prosecuting the course off his studyis. He behaveth himself so circumspectlie to Ye Masters and all his co-disciples of whatsoever degrie yat he is intirelie beloved of them all. The twentie pounds quhilk ye allowed to me is now most expendit in bying golf clubs, and balls, and books, candle, and in buying plennissing for our Chalmer, and giving some acknowledgment to ye servants off ye Colleges."

Gratifying as this report of Lord Ogilvy's progress in his studies would be to the Earl of Airlie, the allusion to his camaraderie among his fellow-students "of whatso-ever degrie" is highly interesting, as it was prophetic of that charm of manner which all through his life made for him hosts of friends, by whom he was beloved and trusted, and to whom he was ever loyal through good and bad report. His list of friends was immense, and he had many even in the ranks of his enemies. "A little light man, but always loyal"—this was the description of him in his own day. His capacity for friendship was great; his genial disposition; his warm, generous-heartedness; his easy, unassuming manner; his accessibility; his ready and active sympathy; his good-humour; his love of fun and frolic—all these made for friendship and attracted friends. Whereas the father

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Earl of Haddington.

in his mighty strength was honoured and feared, the son, in his simple unaffected demeanour and gaiety of heart, was courted and "intirelie beloved."

The business of life crowded fast on boyhood in those days. The heir to a great estate, and more especially where a title was concerned, was early reminded that he had a duty to his family as his first and particular care. The succession was sacred. The male line in the main stream, if possible, must be preserved, and it is remarkable that throughout the generations of the House of Airlie this has never failed. So it came to pass in the family that early marriage was the custom, and after the University this was regarded as the next step in the young gentleman's career. Occasionally, as in this instance, the end of the academic course was anticipated. and love and study were pursued under the same curriculum. Lord Ogilvy was a susceptible youth, an amorous swain; and like the race from which he was descended, had the amative affections in luscious profusion. Although not a poet, he had a lively imagination. Although no philosopher, he could scan the horizon of human outlook, and take in the measure of his own destiny. But he was an artist and had a keen sense of the beautiful. He admired Nature in all her forms and moods, and dearly loved the shapely form, the dreamy eye, and the soft pink of a woman's dimpled cheeks. He was made and meant for love, and very early, indeed on the borderland of his manhood, he plunged, as was his wont in everything, into Cupid's stream "neck and crop." But a very wise man, so wise that his savings have been given a place in the Canon of the Sacred Scriptures as a guide to all men of all time, once made this great admission:

"There be three things which are too wonderful for me, yea, four which I know not: the way of an eagle in the air, the way of a serpent upon a rock, the way of a ship in the midst of the sea, and the way of a man with a maid."

The last-mentioned seems to have come to the mind of this wise man as an afterthought, but it is indeed oftentimes quite as puzzling as the others. While living at Farnell Castle for part of the year from the time he was eight till he reached the age of twelve, he had as frequent playmates the younger children of the Earl of Southesk. Kinnaird Castle was only a short distance from his home, while there was much intercourse between the two families. Of the six beautiful daughters, Lady Magdalene Carnegy was the most winsome and charming-a sprightly girl, his junior by a year, who had made a deep impression on his wandering fancy. The friendship of childhood ripened into the affection of youththat strange passion which creates a kind of wonderland, a sacred dream. The boy carried the pleasant sensation into his youthful manhood, and when the time came he remembered. During the long summer vacation, Lord Ogilvy's horse found his head turned frequently in the direction of the home of the Carnegys, and it came to be recognised by both families that he was the approved and destined lover of the fair Lady Magdalene. But that same wise man, perhaps in the foolhardiness of his youth and in the glamour of his ecstatic fancy, also wrote that "many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it." But strange accidents happen by flood and field which to a superstitious mind may cloud the fairest prospects and damp the most ardent passion. Indeed, this fickleness of the lover's course perplexed one of the "Gentlemen of Verona," who could not help wondering

"How this spring of love resembleth
The uncertain glory of an April day;
Which now shows all the beauty of the sun,
And, by and by, a cloud takes all away."

One bright morning in the autumn of 1628, while the sun was still warm and kind, and when "the fields were white unto harvest," in some of which, indeed, the reapers were busy amid song and laughter, Lord Ogilvy set out on horseback, in high spirit, and while still short of his seventeenth birthday by three months, for the Castle of Kinnaird with the deliberate intention of

making a formal proposal of marriage. It would even appear that an understanding had been reached by the parents of both families to this end, and that the youthful suitor was expected on this particular day. If it can be said, of a truth, "How great a matter a little fire kindleth." it is often the case that the course of one's life is altogether changed by the most trifling accident. The story in general circulation is to the effect that, on reaching the South Esk, the horse would not take the ford by which he meant to cross, and, construing this as a bad omen, he returned the way he had gone. correct version is by far the more amusing, and at the same time explanatory of the lover's situation. It was not superstition alone that made him retrace the way he had gone, but dire necessity as well. On crossing the South Esk the horse stumbled in the middle of the ford and threw his rider headlong into the water, thus thoroughly cooling the ardent lover by a copious immersion; and inasmuch as his condition made it impossible for him to pursue his purpose, he interpreted his unfortunate plight as an intervention of Providence, and he turned back, abandoning for the time being at least his matrimonial project-

> "gave his bridle reins a shake, Said, 'Adieu for ever more, my love, And adieu for ever more.'"

As might be expected, there was great perplexity at Kinnaird Castle that day over the non-appearance of the lover, and when the explanation was forthcoming, the Lady Magdalene, on learning the change of purpose, was sorely distressed; whereupon it is said that the Earl of Southesk consoled his daughter by telling her "not to mind, for he would soon find her a better husband than Airlie." When Lord Ogilvy, thinking better of it, resolved to stake his fortune on such a prize, he discovered that he was too late. She declined the proffer of his love, as by that time his great friend, the Earl of Montrose, had come upon the scene as a possible lover. Lady Magdalene's rejection of Lord Ogilvy was

apparently keenly felt in the Airlie family, as may be gathered from a letter, already quoted, written by Lady Margaret Hamilton to her sister, the Countess of Airlie, in which, referring to a meeting she had with Sir John Carnegy of Balnamoon, a nephew of the Earl of Southesk, she remarked:

"Drawn Balnamoon upon that purpis to get him ane affront as that family got befor be ye refusal of my Ladie Montros for my Lord youre sonne."

Lord Ogilvv had not studied philosophy in vain. He had learned the manner and use of memory and reflection, and his disciplined mind was not slow to grasp the situation in which fortuitous fortune had placed him. He was quick to see that with youth, hope, and love he might yet make his disappointed passion appear but a troubled dream. He did not, therefore, mourn and lament unduly the loss of the fair Lady Magdalene, nor did he, like his aunt, fret and fume over his offended pride. If he were not a poet, he had the poetic temperament that is quick to embrace the passing mood. A true child of Nature, he acted as Nature does in all her accidental happenings-fills up the vacuum and repairs the wound which accident has made. He may even have observed how the birds deal with misfortune, and how, instead of mourning over it. make the best of it:

"Even now, in passing through the garden walk, Upon the ground I saw a fallen nest, Ruined, and full of ruins: and over it, Behold, the uncomplaining birds, already Busy in building a new habitation."

Six months after his disappointment, while still or the rebound, Lord Ogilvy, after the manner of the birds, took the field again. He was more resolute this time, if not more ardent in his passion, with the result that he was more successful. He had learned his lesson in the school of life and at the hand of a coy but a proud lady; yet he had wit to know that as a general rule a young lady's first offer of marriage is like a young sportsman's first partridge—it combines the two qualities of novelty and success. Lord Ogilvy married, before he had attained his eighteenth year and while still a student at St. Andrews, Lady Helen Ogilvy, the Lady Airlie of the ballad, eldest daughter of George, first Lord Banff. The marriage contract is dated 20th-25th March, 1629. At the time of the marriage, in the late summer of the same year, Lady Helen was a "nut-brown maiden" of medium height, of fair hair and fresh complexion, with soft, dreamy blue eyes that. bespoke an easy disposition and a mild temper, and just the suggestion of a happy humour. She was in her sixteenth year. According to the terms of the contract. the young couple had to make their home at Banff till Lord Ogilvy should attain majority—a not uncommon arrangement when the couple were so young. After a short honeymoon, the youthful husband returned to St. Andrews to complete his studies. And again, six months later, he gathered together in his rooms at St. Salvator's College his books, golf-clubs, bows and arrows, and other precious gear, and, bidding farewell to the city of St. Rule, little dreaming under what tragic circumstances he should next visit the University town, he mounted his horse and rode north to "the bridal bower" of his chosen mistress, arriving in good time to welcome his daughter-Anne. On attaining majority, he remained in this country for two events in which he was interested—the birth of his second child and the Coronation of Charles I. in Scotland. A son was born to him early in 1633, James, who was baptized in the Parish Church of Banff. He attended the ceremony of Coronation, as became so loyal and devoted a subject, and \*joined in the lavish hospitalities which the Scottish nobility dispensed on that occasion in hearty rivalry of the extravagant splendour of the English nobles who had come north with His Majesty. Then, as became the heir of a noble House, and according to the custom of the period, he set out on a course of foreign travel. He visited France, where the friendly Scot was ever welcome. Here, like his father before him, he entered one of the military schools, to be trained in the use of arms and instructed in the art of war. In respect to the former, he has recorded that he finished his course in the school of the famous "Monsieur Anglo at Paris," who taught him "Fencing with the single sword," and "the handling of the rapier and dagger." These serious instructions were interspersed with lessons on "Dancing and Riding." Having finished his training and added to his accomplishments, he went on a sojourn to Italy with his future companion in arms, the Marquis of Douglas, and others of the blue blood of Scotland. There he met the Earl of Montrose, who, while studying as he said "as much of the Mathematics as is required of a soldier," was also engaged "reading men and the actions of great men." It was not love of pleasure alone which took this bright group of budding cavaliers to the European Continent; neither was it the outcome of a chaste regard for Art, in painting and statuary; nor was it that any of them had such pronounced antiquarian tastes that they must needs see Rome. A youth who had before him the prospect of being the chief of a clan must be a soldier. With broad acres to defend, his vassals, who in part held their lands against military service, were entitled to expect that he was skilled in the art of war. Europe was then the school of the military caste. Many of Scotland's great soldiers had been trained on the Continent, and at this particular time, Lord Ogilvy's near relative, Sir John Ogilvy of Baldovie, who was in command under the Earl of Airlie at the Battle of Kilsyth, had won fame in the wars of Sweden. This small group of the Scottish nobility, who were destined in the near future to play an important part in the disposition of affairs in the country, had the common object\* in view of studying Continental methods of warfare. Already they had a rough knowledge of arms. Most of them were skilled in fencing. The Earl of Montrose was a deadly shot with the bow and arrow, while Lord Ogilvy was only slightly his inferior. But the technique of arms was then taught with the utmost efficiency on the Continent, where warfare was studied with mathematical precision.

Having thus spent two years abroad acquiring the knowledge of military tactics and the handling of troops, Lord Ogilvy returned to Scotland at a time of great commotion, and took up his residence at Airlie Castle. It was the summer of 1638, when the storm-clouds were gathering that should break forth in all the fury of a tempest. During the reign of James VI. there had been such peace between the Sovereign and the Scottish nobility as had never been known since the accession of James I. The son of Mary, Queen of Scots, with all his inconsistencies and disregard of principle, was yet much too wise and diplomatic to pursue a policy which might alienate the nobles and territorial gentry. might exasperate the Presbyterian clergy by his Episcopalian proclivities and care nothing for their outbursts of temper so long as he had the nobles at his back. knew just how far to go with safety, and never adventured a proposition that was beyond his reach where the nobility was concerned. He had lived amongst them. was conversant with their history and pretensions, had taken the measure of their license, and, as he said, "knew the stomach" of the "Lords of the Congregation" so nicely that he found no difficulty in shaping his course in such a manner as to keep them on his side. He did not burden his soul over principles; opportunism was his sole guide and motive. In the case of Church property, which bristled with sharp thorns, and was the subject on which Charles I. pricked himself so badly, his Act of Annexation applied only to such lands as remained unalienated, and while he so piloted his policy as to considerably augment the holding of the Crown, he was careful not to transgress the lands on which the nobles had laid arbitrary hands. Yea, more: in aggrandising the Crown he bought the support of the nobility by giving a share to those from whom he had most to fear or for the time being were most in his favour. But the tithes James VI. would not touch, though the subject had become a crying scandal, and it was by the tithes that Charles's offence came. This matter was casually referred to in the history of the late

Earl of Airlie, and it may be advisable to describe the circumstances here. The patrimony of the Church, consisting of the tithes, or teinds, which constituted the revenues of the ancient priesthood, had during the reign of James VI. been annexed to the Crown, but the King, as already hinted at, had bestowed upon the nobles to whom he was specially attached large grants of this priestly inheritance. These grants, unfortunately, had been made so promiscuously and without any recognised principle of justice or convenience, that much difficulty resulted to various classes of the community. Indeed, it frequently was the case that the tithes had been conveyed to persons who had no right to the estates out of which these duties were paid; and inasmuch as the proprietors or occupiers of the soil were prohibited from removing the crop from the fields till the titular of the teind had carried away the tenth part, there was in consequence great inconvenience to the work of husbandry, as it was no uncommon sight to see the grain, which might have been safely stored, rotting in the fields, because the farmers were not at liberty to secure the crop till the teind had been gathered. As might be expected, the farmers, the bonnet-lairds, the labourers on their allotments, the shepherds on their crofts, and in many cases the large proprietors, were exasperated by the dilatory, and in many instances deliberately procrastinating conduct of the titulars. A large measure of dissatisfaction thus existed which Parliament was either unable or unwilling to remove, but which Charles I., on his accession to the throne, with every good intention conceived it to be his duty to redress. On the other hand, the Church was in arampant mood. The adoption of Presbyterial government at the time of the Reformation was deliberately intended, in opposition to the spiritual autocracy of the ancient Church, to be a democratic government. There was no dislike to Bishops or the office of Bishop; for, indeed, the Bishop under another name was included in the original polity of John Knox. All that the nobles aimed at was that the Bishops should not be allowed to

grow rich and powerful as had the old Catholic hierarchy which they had ousted and despoiled. But things often turn out the reverse of what was either intended or anticipated. It was so in this case. The General Assembly, while it began by repudiating the claims of the ancient Church, was not long in harness till it began to assert a similar authority for itself, and proposed, as the Roman Church had done, to rule not only the Church but the State as well, and to impose a discipline as formidable and aggressive as ever Rome attempted. It was soon discovered that "New presbyter was but old priest writ large." If the tyranny of the nobles was felt as a groaning burden, the despotism of the Church aroused resentment. Charles I. was ill-advised to adventure a path which his father feared to tread. His proposal to revoke the tithes created such hostility among a large section of the nobility that he alienated any sympathy they may have had for his person; and although he withdrew his proposal in favour of a Commission to inquire into the whole subject and report, there was left a deep vein of suspicion among many of the great territorialists. In course of time this rancorous feeling died down, and while there was a strong undercurrent of feeling, on the surface there was calm, but it was the calm before the storm.

It was during this placid period that Lord Ogilvy returned from his travels abroad, and, joining Lady Helen Ogilvy and his little daughter—his son, James, having died while he was in foreign parts—took up his residence in Airlie Castle. There he lived quietly for the next two years, one of the two brief interludes he was privileged to experience for many years to come. But the happy dream of the young Benedict was rudely broken by that noisome innovation which called forth the Covenant. When the sound of the tumult reached him, he rode at once for the scene of conflict, for he dearly loved to be in the heart of a "brulzie." While he took a serious view of life and things, and was possessed of a spirit of reverent regard for religion and things sacred equally with his father, he had in addition

-what his father lacked-a strong sense of humour, and was brimful of fun and frolic. The comical appealed to him. The turbulent scene in St. Giles's, when Jenny Geddes, "the Kailwyfe of the Trone," hearing the Bishop, on the introduction of Laud's Liturgy, call upon the Dean to read the collect of the day, cried out, with unintentional wit: "D'eil colic the wame o' ve!" and suiting the action to the word, threw the stool on which she sat at the Dean's head, and with such a steady aim that he only escaped it "by jouking," would be to the mind of the Earl of Airlie an act of painful sacrilege to be deeply deplored; while his son, on witnessing the scene or on hearing it described, would have no difficulty in taking it at its true value, and would rock with laughter over the fun of it. He would not, however, be slow to grasp its significance and see in it a straw that showed how the wind was blowing. During that agitating time which gave birth to the Covenant he remained in Edinburgh with a keen eve on the movement, and when the bond was ready for signature, like his father, he refused to subscribe it; for, like his parent, he was irrevocably attached to the principle of the royal authority and to Episcopal orders. When the former was summoned by Charles I. to England, Lord Ogilvy returned north to mount guard over the family interests and defend the castles. The story has already been told of the Earl of Montrose's commission to take and destroy Airlie Castle. From what has been stated of his relationship to the Airlie family and his intimate friendship with Lord Ogilvy, his appointment seems to have been somewhat strange, if not concocted. It is indeed difficult to surmount the feeling that the Earl of Montrose, ascertaining the design thus to punish the Earl of Airlie, seized the opportunity to avert the destruction which, at a later date, the Marquis of Argyll accomplished. On what ground the statement has been made there is no means of knowing with any degree of accuracy, though it conflicts with the family tradition, that Lord Ogilvy, not being in a position to defend the Castle, after a conference with the Earl of Montrose—"for the good of the public," so the convenient phrase runs—quietly surrendered it, when the Commissioner of the Covenant "left a garrison of his own men in charge." This may have been the result of a mutual understanding between the two friends; in short, "bluff," as this is the interpretation which the Earl of Argyll seems to have put upon the incident when six months later he took the commission into his own hands and did the work so thoroughly that he left not "a stan'in' stane in Airly."

The following description of it which he gave to Charles II. is still extant in Lord Ogilvy's handwriting:

"The House off Airlie was caste downe and the House of Forthar burned in the year of God 1640, having refused to covenant and joyn in armes with them. Also att yat tyme my wyff being big with chyld was necessitatt to flie from hir house, and having only two chyldren thay wer carried awa prisoners and kepit in Dundee. The eldest off thame nott being much above thrie or foure yeirs off age."

It may be remembered that the Earl of Argyll, after the burning of Airlie Castle, sent out a detachment of his troops to scour the surrounding country in search of Lord Ogilvy. He had refused to subscribe the Covenant. Besides, his close and intimate friendship with the Earl of Montrose, who by this time was not above suspicion of being at least lukewarm in the cause, made it all the more necessary that two such daring spirits should be kept apart. For a few months they were so, for Lord Ogilvy, on learning that a warrant was issued for his arrest, made his escape to England, where he joined his father. In May, 1641, when the Earl of Montrose set out for England on a visit to Charles I. to discuss with him how best his loval adherents in Scotland could serve the royal cause, Lord Ogilvy, apprised of this journey, met him somewhere on the Border and joined him in the capacity of Aide-de-Camp. This visit, and the knowledge that two such bold spirits had come together, greatly alarmed the Convention of Estates, who, though ignorant of the object of the visit which the Earl of Montrose had in view, were yet constrained to believe

from his junction with Lord Ogilvy that it boded no good. So far he had kept his counsel to himself. Yet the silence of one who had hitherto been always ready to ventilate his opinions was, to say the least of it, suspicious; but having now joined hands with one who was a well-known enemy of the Covenant, he gave the first indication of the real state of his mind and how he was likely to act in the future. The two cousins, alike enthusiastic and resolute of purpose, and deep in each other's confidence, accomplished their mission and disclosed their minds to their royal master. The coldness with which Charles first met the Earl of Montrose, the cause of which has generally and with good reason been attributed to the jealousy of the Marquis of Hamilton, now to a large extent removed by the good office of the Earl of Airlie, was at length by his association with Lord Ogilvy, for whom the King had contracted a great affection, completely displaced by a feeling of cordial friendship, and a firm belief in his loyalty and his integrity of purpose. What transpired at this interview, so momentous for the peace of Scotland, may be only surmised from its immediate sequel. A weak joint in the body politic was the fact that the Covenanting Parliament, while it derived its chief support and its main strength in the south and west of Scotland, found the Midlands were lukewarm, while the north was more or less antagonistic. Indeed, the great majority north of the Mearns were frankly for the King, while the Highlanders could always be relied upon when there was a fight in prospect. In any campaign, then, on which the Covenanters might care to embark, there was always the danger of being taken in the rear by the determined men of the north. This was well enough understood by them, and the chances of it always entered into their calcula-This state of things, geographical and political, will serve to explain the initial movement of the Earl of Montrose and Lord Ogilvy, and how it was that after their interview with Charles they rode directly into Aberdeenshire and discussed with the Marquis of Huntly and other noblemen the probabilities of the situation and how they were to be met, if and when they arose. After-events prove the nature both of the discussions and the decision to which they had come.

By the time these interviews were over it was the middle of September, 1641. The Earl of Montrose went to his seat in Kincardine, while Lord Ogilvy joined Lady Helen at Cortachy Castle, now occupied by the Countess of Airlie, and indeed the only home available for the family, where they were three months later to welcome the Earl of Airlie on his return from England. There was a happy family gathering at Christmas, and when Easter came they were still together. The spring made way for summer. The sun, high up in the heavens, shed abroad his light over the landscape and made the atmosphere warm as a lover's breath. The woods were vocal with the songs of the birds. The hills rejoiced in gorgeous purple with their feathery tenants. pastures were clothed with flocks; the fields luscious with growing corn; while the herds browsed languidly in the meadows. The scene was peaceful-yea, at this season around Cortachy, entrancing, with its inimitable Glen scenery of matchless beauty and infinite variety of affecting images. Into this placid scene came wild and disturbing rumours that great happenings were taking place in the sister kingdom, and that a great movement had been conceived and was even now travailing to birth in the home country. There was now much coming and going among the noblemen of the north who were loyal to Charles. There were serious faces and grave discussions. Horses were being carefully groomed, freely exercised, and sumptuously fed. Protective armour was duly examined with minute inspection; while swords, rapiers, daggers, battle-axes, and spears were being ground to a sharp point. For why? Disaffection of a grave nature had broken out in England which had all the look of a possible rebellion. Every week brought news of still graver import. Towards the end of August in the year of God 1642, the startling intelligence reached the Midlands of Scotland that Charles I. had raised his Royal Standard at Nottingham. The rebellion, foreseen from the day that Sir John Hotham shut the gates of the town of Hull in the King's face as inevitable, was now a fact. To every loyal supporter of Charles this was a call to arms. The House of Airlie was certain to respond. The now Marquis of Montrose at once leapt into the saddle, a King's man, and, glowing with that high purpose which was the inspiration of his heroic life, rode to Edinburgh, taking Cortachy Castle on the way to discuss the situation and determine on the course that should be adopted. The business was urgent. Events followed hard upon one another, and the Battle of Edgehill was fought on 23rd October, 1642. The result of this conference was that nothing should be done, that no steps of an aggressive nature should be taken, till a royal warrant was obtained to authorise a Scottish Royalist rising. For the purpose of ascertaining the mind of Charles, and, if possible, receiving his authority, it was decided that the Marquis of Montrose and Lord Ogilvy should visit England. This agreed upon, there was no delay. The cousins, the college friends, the companions in foreign travel, and now companions in arms, each accompanied by a groom, set out next day for the south. When they arrived at Newcastle, on discovering that it was impossible to have an audience of His Majesty, they learned that the Queen was at Bridlington Bay, in Yorkshire, and they rode thither, saw Her Majesty, and urged upon her the instability of affairs in Scotland and the likelihood of the Covenant army joining forces with the English Parliament. This was strongly discredited, and though persistently urged as a probable contingency, it was regarded by the royal advisers as more than unlikely. And so the cousins returned without their royal warrant, and leaving behind them the reputation of being alarmists. But as they were fully aware of the undercurrent of things political in their native kingdom and had spoken only that of which they knew, they had not long to wait for the justification of their attitude.

The Marquis of Argyll, shortly after the outbreak of civil war in England, had requested Charles I. to grant

authority for the meeting of the Convention of Estates at an early date. This His Majesty refused on the Constitutional ground of the triennial Parliament. On this occasion, as on several others which were soon to follow, the King had good reason to recall the words of the old Earl of Argyll: "If ever he finds it in his power to do you a mischief, he will be sure to do it." For, undaunted by the royal refusal and indeed disregarding it, he took upon himself the authority to summon a meeting of the Estates, before which he launched the policy of the "Solemn League and Covenant," whereby the Estates joined forces, as the Marquis of Montrose had predicted, with the English Parliament.

The die was cast. The gage of battle was thrown down. This was a deliberate challenge to the dissentient Royalists. How would they act? What should they do? They had foreseen the crisis and were prepared to meet it. Withdrawing from the Convention, they held a meeting of their own in the north, at which were present, besides the Marquis of Montrose and Lord Ogilvy-now the recognised leaders of the movementsuch loyalist nobles as the Marquis of Huntly, the Earl-Marischal, the Earl of Airlie, and several other sympathisers among the nobility. There was but one opinion, and it was generally agreed that at once a report of the posture of affairs should be forwarded to Charles, who was now at Oxford, informing him of this development of opposition to his person and throne. But besides sending a report, they resolved to follow it in person as soon as preparations could be made. In the course of a few weeks, the Marquis of Montrose, with the full approval and heartiest support of his compatriots. set out for the south again, fortified by the realisation of what he had formerly predicted would come to pass, and taking with him such hardy spirits as Lord Ogilvy (whom he appointed Aide-de-Camp), and Viscount Aboyne, the Earls of Crawford and Kinnoull. This band of ardent Royalists arrived at Oxford, discussed with His Majesty the situation, remained for six months watching its development, at the same time preparing

their plan "to raise Scotland for the King." They requested Charles I. to grant them sufficient troops to cut their way through to the Highlands, where they knew that at the first sound of the bugle-call "the children of the mist" would flock to the Royal Standard. The King referred them to the Earl of Newcastle, who was in command of the King's army in the North of England, who grudgingly granted them thirteen hundred troops, many of whom on reaching the Border deserted. The start of the King's Lieutenant was not encouraging. It was a long way from the Tweed to the Tay. Before they could reach the Grampians there was a great stretch of country wholly devoted to the Covenant, and through which, were their design known, they would not only be exposed to danger but to destruction. It was necessary to walk warily and act with caution. On the immediate Border there might be found some who were in sympathy with their aim and willing to give them their support; but at this particular juncture the feeling of the Border clans was a highly speculative quality, and, as it proved, a disappointing one. There was need for circumspection, for an intelligent survey of the situation, and shrewd discernment of how the land lay. Lord Ogilvy was a man of resource, of ready wit, of quick intelligence, of free and affable disposition, who could keep his ears open and his mouth shut if need were: a born actor who could play the part that occasion required to perfection. Hhe chose as his companion Sir William Rollo, who, as the result of an accident in youth, walked with a "limp." The two adventurers adopted the rôle of mendicants, and, fitted out in attire that became a couple of wandering beggars, they set forth on their quest of knowledge. Lord Ogilvy, from his intimate acquaintance with the peasantry and their manner of life, soon adapted himself to the situation, while his companion's "limp" harmonised to a nicety with the feigned position. They visited the Border towns and villages, and solicited alms at every mansion in the district, and as at that time mendicants were ever made welcome and hospitably entertained for the news they

carried, these simple-minded beggars were willing to give all they knew and more if by this means they might learn in return the state of feeling in the country, which they contrived to do. Eating their supper by the kitchen fire, and sleeping comfortably in the barn among the straw at night, for more than a fortnight they pursued their itinerant life, penetrating as far into the heart of the country as the Lothians, and learning much of the feeling and attitude of all classes of the people—from the lady of the mansion, who was eager to hear the latest news of the thrilling time, and not slow to ventilate her own opinions, to the peasant, who was as willing to tell what he knew as to listen to the tale of the poor wanderers. After an absence of nearly three weeks, Lord Ogilvy and Sir William Rollo, still in their shabby habiliments, rejoined their compatriots at Carlisle and reported the disconcerting intelligence that the whole land to the Forth lav quiet under the Covenant, that the people would be far from sympathetic with their design, and that many of the nobles, whom hitherto they had reckoned at least doubtful, were actually tumbling over each other in their eagerness to swear allegiance to the Marquis of Argyll's policy of joining forces with the English Parliament.

There was only one hope left if they were to cut their way to the north, where lay their land of promise. Once by the foothills of the Grampians among the brave Highlanders, they would be masters of the situation, but to get there with the intervening country in the hands of the enemy—this was the insurmountable difficulty. Besides, while they were prepared to risk much, they had to face the lamentable fact that they were not only short of men but desperately in need of munitions. The only course open to them at this juncture, in the light of Lord Ogilvy's report, was to address a direct appeal to Charles I. at Oxford. So the Marquis of Montrose drew up a statement of the posture of affairs, informing His Majesty of how he might be of service to him, provided he was supplied with a sufficient force, and if not with men, at least with munitions. Taking Lord Ogilvy into

his confidence, he disclosed to him in private his whole plan, giving him the fullest information which he should lay before the King. It was a long story, and that nothing should escape him he drew up in the form of memoranda the following list of instructions, which he counselled him to observe in his mission to Oxford. These instructions were full and detailed, in some respects much too lucid for the fate which befell them; for now began a series of misfortunes which dogged his every movement, in large measure the result of his daring spirit and unbridled love of a skirmish.

### "Instructions to Lord Ogilvy

#### I

- (1) Your Lordship is to make the narrative of your repair to his Majesty, to make him acquainted from us of the whole track and passage of the occasion of his service touching Scotland and our endeavours in it; that his Majesty may be truly informed of our diligence, and that nothing has holden at us; nothing has been performed to us, neither in what was promised or otherwise.
- (2) You are to inform his Majesty of all the particulars that stumbled his service, as of the carriage of Hartfell, Annandale, Morton, Roxburgh, and Traquair, who refused his Majesty's commission, and debauched our Officers, doing all that in them lay to discountenance the service and all who were engaged in it.
- (3) Your Lordship is seriously to represent the notable miscarriage of the Earls of Crawford and Nithsdale—how often they crossed the business and went about to abuse us who had undertaken it, to the great scandal and prejudice of the service.
- (4) You are to show his Majesty the course we have taken as the only probable way left for his service, though very desperate for ourselves: and let him know that, if the conveniency of his affairs could suffer it, with very little supply of force, much may be done, if not all that his Majesty desired. But therein you are to carry yourself according as you find the condition of affairs when you come there, and press it more or less.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These lords professed attachment to the royal cause, but in the end betrayed the King.

(5) Your Lorship will make all your addresses by the Lord Digby, on whom you must learn absolutely to rely,—and so to the King.

(6) You are to desire some blank commissions to use upon occasion, and represent the injustice done to Haddo<sup>2</sup> and to

those who have suffered in that kind.

(7) Your Lordship will inform and ply those about the King, friends and others, very particularly, touching all that has passed in this business.

(8) You are to do in this, or further, as occasion may require, and as your Lordship shall think fit, and be advised by Sir

William Fleming<sup>3</sup> and Sir Robert Spottiswoode.

(9) You are to call Sir William Fleming as witness still to that you are to represent to his Majesty.

(10) You are to represent, particularly, our base usage by

these counties.4

(11) Whatever shall befall, your Lordship is to make all possible haste and despatch, and to stay for nothing, but be sure within a month or five weeks at furthest, to fall in with what force, less or more, that possibly you can: direct two or three confidential persons before you; severally, lest some be intercepted; that some may give us notice how all has gone and what we have to expect, that we may put ourselves in some frame to be all aloft at once against your return.

#### II

(1) You will be pleased to use all means with Lord Digby, the Earl of Forth, Master Porter, Master Ashburnham, and all other friends for the release of Colonel Bellasis.<sup>5</sup>

(2) That his Majesty be solicited particularly for Prince Maurice's repair to Scotland and that the Lord Digby be seriously dealt with'all, and all means be used for that effect.

#### $\mathbf{III}$

- (1) The possibility of the business, had it been done in time, evidently does appear by that at the least which we have done, which shews clearly that his Majesty hath formerly been but betrayed by those whom he trusted.
- (2) With what good reason we did undertake it. Since, if any point of the capitulation had been observed to us,—as

<sup>1</sup> Secretary of State.

- <sup>2</sup> Gordon of Haddo, executed by Argyll, 19th July, 1644.
- Brother of the Earl of Wigton.
   North of England.
   Son of Lord Falconbridge.

money, supplies from Newcastle, arms and ammunition from Denmark; Antrim fallen in the country himself with 1,000 men, and much of that kind—we could easily have done the business. Nay, though nothing was held good to us, yet we could easily have effected it notwithstanding, had either we not stayed at Dumfries, or had retreated to Stirling, whereas we went to Carlisle, and by whose means all that befell.<sup>1</sup>

(3) That till we were called away by the Prince<sup>2</sup> by two peremptory orders from off the Borders, Callander did not come in, nor could not, so long as we had stayed. And how, when we came to the Prince, his occasion forced him to make use of the force we brought along with us, and would not suffer him to supply us with others; so that we were left altogether abandoned and could not so much as find quartering for our own person in these counties.

(4) Forget not to shew how feasible the business is yet and

the reason thereof, if right courses be taken."

These instructions, clear and perspicuous in some matters, were fortunately, as events proved, obscure on the immediate plan of campaign which the Marquis of Montrose had determined to pursue. The measures which he proposed to adopt and the manner of their execution were secretly confided to Lord Ogilvy, and these instructions were intended simply as a guide, a series of memoranda, that he might represent the case in all its aspects to the King. While he placed them securely in his wallet, the more important matters were stowed away in the secret cloisters of his brain, and it was well that they were so, as, though he had been urged "to make all possible haste and despatch," the country was in a state of rebellion, and there was no saying what might happen on the way. It has been said that "fortune favours the bold." This may be true as a general rule, but in this, as in all such epigrams, there are exceptions. The brave are no more above the slings of misfortune than the saint is immune from the adventitious accidents of life. A bolder spirit was never entrusted with a mission of great importance, and if he

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Referring to the manner in which he had been deceived on the Border by Earl Hartfell.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Prince Rupert.

failed it was not through lack of courage, but perhaps on account of excessive daring, that Lord Ogilvy came by disaster. It came about after this fashion. About the middle of August, 1644, accompanied by Lord Reay, the Earl of Crawford, Sir Alexander Irvine, Sir John Innes. and Wishart (Chaplain to the Earl of Montrose), and a considerable bodyguard, Lord Ogilvy left Carlisle for Oxford on his mission to Charles I. As it was necessary "to make all possible haste," the direct route was chosen in ignorance of what was taking place across their path. The Scottish auxiliary army of the "Solemn League and Covenant," under the command of the Earl of Leven, had a few weeks before joined forces with the English Parliament, and by the time Lord Ogilvy left Carlisle were besetting the royal army, under the Earl of Newcastle, which had established itself at York. At a critical moment, Prince Rupert, son of the King of Bohemia by Charles I.'s sister, Elizabeth, arrived on the scene of action with an army of twenty thousand men, and succeeded in compelling the besiegers to retreat to Marston Moor. Thither they were followed by the Prince, who had now united to his army the garrison of York, probably no less than ten thousand strong. Falling upon the right wing of the Parliamentary army, commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax, which included three regiments of Scottish horse, the Prince routed them and pursued them a great way—as it proved, too far for his own safety; for Colonel Cromwell, seeing his opportunity, at once attacked the exposed flank of the Earl of Newcastle and scattered this force, while, Sir Thomas Fairfax making a great rally, the Parliamentary forces came together and made a united attack upon the divided bodies of the King's army and totally dispersed it in all directions, keeping up the pursuit for a considerable distance. Lord Ogilvy and his compatriots were quietly pursuing their journey to Oxford, when suddenly they met a body of four hundred of Prince Rupert's horse, in full flight, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Huddleston, on 15th August, 1644, and making for Lathom House. They informed Lord

Ogilvy of the disaster to the royal army, and further that there was a strong party of the Parliament men stationed at Ribble Bridge, near Preston, to guard the roads leading south. This intelligence, for the moment, was disconcerting, as it meant that the Parliamentary troops were astride his route to Oxford and blocked his passage. If Lord Ogilvy hesitated, it was not for long. He collected the royal horse, and with his bodyguard took command of the united force, with the intention of cutting his way through to open country. By a night march he succeeded in approaching the vicinity of the enemy camp unperceived, and falling upon them about daybreak, utterly routed them. But this victory was short-lived. Lord Ogilvy was now taken by surprise. A strong force of which he had not been informed, under the command of Colonel Shuttleworth, being in the neighbourhood, came to the assistance of their discomfited brethren, and attacking Lord Ogilvy in the rear, surrounded and took him and the rest of his company prisoners. It might seem as if an important part of his instructions had escaped him-"to make all possible haste and despatch, and stay for nothing"; but the fact is that he was in great danger of being intercepted, perhaps little chance of escaping it, had he continued his journey with so small a following. Always ready for a fight, however, it naturally occurred to him that the good-fortune of meeting a friendly force should be turned to advantage when he discovered that the enemy stood between him and the execution of his purpose. It came to be a question of retreat or cut his way through, and Lord Ogilvy was not the type of man to flinch at danger, or set too much value on the odds against him. He succeeded by his own superlative courage, and failed by lack of forethought and circumspection. Along with his companions he was conveyed to Hull, where all his papers were seized, and later the prisoners were handed over to the custody of the Earl of Leven, who sent them under a strong guard to Edinburgh, where, sometime in the month of September, 1644, they were imprisoned in the Tolbooth. On hearing of this misfortune to Lord

Ogilvy, His Majesty wrote to the Earl of Airlie the following letter:

"EARLYE/

My sense of the unfortunate taking prisoner of your gallant sonne and of his and your eminent merit in my service, is such as challenges from mee as particular expressions of my greife for the one, and value of the other, as I can returne in my pressent condition; but I make noe doubt but God will soe blisse mee and my cause, both in this kingdome and in that where I heare you are soe heartye a partner in my service, that I may bee able to expresse my value of you by realle testimonyes as well as by the assurance that

I am, Youre Assured friend, CHARLES R.

OXFORD, January 14th, 1644."

Prison life at this period was a hard experience. Wishart, the Chaplain—in after-years Bishop of Edinburgh—has recorded that his year in the Tolbooth made him "a friend of prisoners for ever." The large and gloomy structure, made memorable the world over by Sir Walter Scott under the cant name of "The Heart of Midlothian," occupied half the width of the High Street, and was in close proximity to the Church of St. Giles. Antique in form, its five storeys with turret staircases, its stanchioned windows, its walls dingy with the smoke of centuries, it resembled an ancient fortalice of the fourteenth century, which, it is thought, in all probability it had been before it was acquired for public purposes by the citizens of Edinburgh. It was an old and ruinous building when in 1561 it was appropriated as the meeting-place of the Parliament and the High Court of Justice, while its vaults were used for the confinement of prisoners for debt or on criminal charges. 1640, on the erection of the old Parliament House, the Tolbooth was occupied as a prison only, and its hospitalities were conducted on the principle described by Dickens in his picture of Newgate. Like that famous prison, it sheltered under its roof all sorts and conditions of men, from the victim of fortuitous circumstances to the murderer in cold blood. The State prisoners were only distinguished from the common herd by the more elevated situation of the third floor, with the privilege of ordering their meals outside at their own expense, and the occasional extra favour of being allowed the luxury of a servant-boy to fetch and carry for them. To one of Lord Ogilvy's active habits and love of companionship, the strict confinement to a small room with its strongly barred window looking out on a dull and cheerless court would be the most trying feature of his situation. Apart from the turnkey who made his daily rounds, he would see and speak to no one but the boy who brought his food, while his only touch with life was in the constant companionship of the rats which infested the place, and the marks of whose teeth he carried with him to the end of his days.

Lord Ogilvy, when he was taken prisoner at Ribble Bridge, was a declared rebel, the warrant for whose apprehension was of long standing. On 14th July, 1643, along with several other notable conspirators, he had been cited to appear before a meeting of the Estates:

"The Conventioun of Estates presentlie convened for certain good consideratiouns tending to the weill and peace of the kingdom, have thoct fit and concludit, and accordinglie ordains messengers of arms to pass and in his Majestie's name and authority commit and charge George, Marquis of Huntly; James, Lord Ogilvy; John, Lord Hirries; George, Lord Banff, presently if they can be apprehended and failing thairof at thair dwelling-places, and be open proclamatioun at the Mercat Croce of the heid burgh of the shire qr ye dwell—to compeir presentlie before the said Estates at Edinburgh, or if it sall happen thame to be for ye tyme the fourth day of August nixt to cum: Provydit to give good and sufficient cautioun for keiping of the peace and behave themselves in a peaceable and quyet way, conforme to ye lawes of the kingdome, with certificatioun to thame if thay failye and compeir not, Letters will be direct simpliciter to put thame to the horne."

While the other incriminated persons duly compeared and made their peace with the Parliament, Lord Ogilvy

disregarded the summons, when in consequence he was denounced at a meeting of Estates on 4th August, 1643:

"Forasmeikle as Anent the charge given be warrand of the Estates to James, Lord Ogilvy to have compeired before thame this present day, Provydit to have fund sufficient cautioun for keiping of the peace and behaveing himselfe in a peaceable and quyet way conforme to the lawes of the kingdome; and to have hard and seen such order tane for the good and peace of the kingdome as the Estates should thinke fittinge under the paine of rebellioun, to putting of him to the horne: And the said James, Lord Ogilvy, not compeiring, being oftymes callit, The Estates ordains to denounce him his Majestie's rebell and put him to the horne,—

The Earl of Callender is instructed to pursue him to the utmost and all such as are rebells."

The charge against him was that "of having aided the Popish and Prelatical party in England" against the Covenant. He had escaped the long arm of the law till he was taken prisoner on his way to Oxford, "with his sword in his hand." Lord Ogilvy has left the following account of his experience:

"I tooke ane journay in disagwise into Scotland to speake wt my owne and my Lord Montrose's kindred and freindis and utheris whom I knew wer weill affectit to his Majestie's service at yat tyme. I reportit to Montros ye stait of ye countrie, and went to acquint ye King but was taken prisoner on my journay, a price of 1,000 pieces being laid on my head. I was then sent down as prisoner to ye Scotts and taken to ye Tolbooth so her I was tryed every day for the space off ane yere upon lyffe."

The charge of high treason was a capital offence, and his union with the Marquis of Montrose, whose ambitious scheme was partially disclosed in the memoranda which had been seized on his person, and betrayed the fact that he was in possession of still more intimate information, made his capture appear all the more important and the charge against him all the more heinous. "Tryed every day for the space off ane yere upon lyffe," first before the High Court of Justice, to which he objected, demanding to be tried by his peers, disavowing that he was a criminal, and claiming his rights as a prisoner of war.

On one pretext after another the trial was prolonged and frequently adjourned. Over him with a watching brief stood the powerful influence of the House of Hamilton, which made the Covenanting leaders hesitate to take extreme measures, and though "willing to wound, they were yet afraid to strike." A providential circumstance supervened which for a time eased the situation, but meantime he marshalled his defence against the charge made against him.

#### LORD OGILVY'S DEFENCE

"That he cannot be callit in question of Life and Fortune, because he is a prisoner of war taken upon quarter and by the Law and received Custom of all nations where war is not turned in a downright butchery thair be jura belli held sacred: while scripture itself confirmeth the Law and Practice. For the Syrians being stricken blind and brought captives by Elisha to Ye King of Israel at Samaria, he enquired at Elisha whether he should smite them or not? He answered, Wouldst thou smite them whom thou has taken captives with the sword? This law thus confirmed is most observable in a civil war betwixt a Prince professing nothing but ye maintenance of his just power (without prejudice of religion) and his people's liberties to which adhered a part of his subjects; and his people on ye uther syde professing loyalty to his Majestie's maintenance and reformation of religion betwixt whom thair are a concurrence of so many relations and interests, public and private, as not onlie quarters but exchange of prisoners both flowing from one fountain should necessarily be observed."

After referring to a number of cases such as Captain Lyllburne and General Ruthven, who were treated according to the recognised law of nations, and which he claimed were parallel to his own, he says:

"Upon these grounds I conclude that I am in a like case and cannot be holden to answer to this dittay: and hitherto since ye beginning of yis unhappie war quarter and exchange of prisoners has been allowed both sydes which never having been dischargit; to deny now to these who are in your power by the fortune of war, you have got ye advantage in ye matter of prisoners. I leave it to your Lordship's consideration if it be faire and how it may be constructed in ye opinion of ye world. Besydes, I hop your Lordships will use your prisoners no worse

nor your freindis and associates in England who are in arms for the selfe same caus are accustomed to do betwixt whom and the King's party thair have been granted which makes me wonder ye more at ye report yat is gone of some yat are cumed from thence with instructions to press the execution of justice upon ye prisoners. The which advice if it cum from thame being so unsuitable to your own practice aucht to be suspectit as leading to the discredit and weakening of ye nation. Now, becaus upone ye decision of yis point dependeth much ye weilfaire of vis nation, both pairties presentlie in armes being to tak it for a rule, heirefter in ye matter of quarters I hop your Lordships will among uther respects have before your eyes the safetie of many innocent saulls that will be interested in ye result yerof and will not listen to any motion yat instead of curing the sore will inflame it and be ye readie means to perpetuat our unnatural divisions and mak them irreconciliabil."

The Committee of Estates, after a prolonged discussion of this document and taking into consideration the merits of the case, with due regard to the particular circumstances and the recognised law of nations, made the following—

# "Answer to My Lord Ogilvy—His Defences

(1) The defence foundit upon the course of martial Law in giving quarter and conditions to parties taken and keeping of the same, can have no place for freithing of my Lord Ogilvy from answering to ye crimes contained in his dittay: because ye crimes whairupon he is challenged are those which were not onlie committit be him before he was apprehendit, but also for those which he was cited to compeir before ye Parliament long before his apprehension: And from trial thairof he did subduce himselfe be fleeing into England, whairin no accident occurring to him occasioned by his own misdemeanour can furnish to him any shadow of excuse.

(2) The benefit of quarter foundit upon Martial Law is only considerable when the same was granted 'in iper Procinctie' and by those having power, nothing of which my Lord has or can alledge. But, by the contrarie, in his defences, he grants that he was not in any service but on his way to his Majestie. Lykeas as those who took him found about him certain instructions from Ye Erle of Montros to his Majestie, whairof the

copies were sent to the Committee of Estates.

(3) By the Martial Law the quarters alledged given cannot be further extendit but to the freedom from all challenges

within the kingdome within which the quarters were granted: And my Lord being taken in England, might have had some collour (having cleared and qualified the quarters made to him) to have craved ye benefit off Martial Law which appears he has not craved; or if craved has been judged to be unjust; because the Estates of the Kingdom where he was taken has transmitted him to Ye Estates of this kingdom where he is ane subject."

Lord Ogilvy did not endure his solitary confinement without complaint. While he was thus engaged preparing his defence, he petitioned the Convention of Estates to grant him the liberty of an interview with his fellow-prisoner—the Earl of Crawford. On 9th January, 1645, the following license was issued:

"The Estates of Parliament, Taking into consideration ye desyre of James, Lord Ogilvy, his petitioun, craiving warrand and command to John, Erle of Crawford to have access to ye said James, Lord Ogilvy, within ye Tolbooth of Edinburgh where he remains incarcerat and that at all sik tymes as ye said Erle of Crawford sall thinke expediente. The saidis Estates Be thir presentis Gives warrand and command to ye Keepeirs of ye Tolbooth off Edinburgh To Give access to ye said John, Erle of Crawford within ye said Tolbooth to speike with ye said James, Lord Ogilvy, at all sicke tymes as ye said Erle of Crawford sall thinke fitt and expediente. Q'anent thir presentis subscryved be Sir Alexander Gibsone of Durie at command of ye Parliament sall be ane sufficient warrand."

By this time the Earl of Airlie was in the full swing of the Civil War, and with the Marquis of Montrose had ravaged Argyleshire with merciless vengeance, which did not improve Lord Ogilvy's position, but, on the contrary, accentuated the feeling against him. Fortunately, however, the invasion of his country kept the Marquis of Argyll on his own dominions deeply concerned about his own affairs, otherwise more drastic measures might have ensued, while the defeat of the Covenant troops at Inverlochy aroused such fears among the Lords of the Congregation that for the moment their thoughts chiefly centred on the possible danger to their cause. At the same time, in this exasperated state of feeling, there was great concern among Lord Ogilvy's friends over the fate

which threatened him. If the Earl of Airlie were engaged elsewhere, and by other means pursuing his purpose to accomplish his son's release, the Countess of Airlie, with the help of her friends, was at the scene of danger and actively engaged in keeping the authorities in check. Availing herself of every line of influence she could command, she stood guard over Lord Ogilvy in those anxious weeks when he was in peril of his life, and it was largely owing to her indomitable courage and persistency that the Lords of the Covenant were moved to hesitation. She appeared before the Committee of Estates in person and demanded to have access to him. On 18th January she was granted the following license:

"The Estates of Parliament grants Warrand to ye Keepeir of ye Tolbooth of Edinburgh to suffer and permit Dame Isobell Hammiltoun, Countess of Airlie, Lady Isobell Ogilvy, her daughter; Sir Patrick Hamiltoun of Little Preston, and James Murray, Younger, and every ane of thame, conjunctlie or severallie as thay sall have opportunitie, To have access within ye said Tolbooth of Edinburgh to meit and speike with James, Lord Ogilvy, who remaines incarcerat thair."

What led to this and other interviews that followed was the excited state of feeling throughout the country occasioned by the series of successful Royalist battles waged by the King's supporters. There was at this time. especially after the great victory at Inverlochy, a hue and cry throughout Covenanting circles, and markedly among the ministers of religion, that some drastic measures should be taken "to execute justice on delinquents and malignants." To represent this feeling in all its intensity and to urge the civil authorities, in the present temper of the nation, to approach their duty without fear or favour, the Commission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland sent a deputation to the Estates of Parliament in which, after a strong remonstrance on their lukewarmness in the cause that lay immediately to their hand, it was stated:

"According to the laudable custom ever used heretofore by the Kirk in keeping correspondence with the Estates, they you is urge in the name of that most holy Inquisition, the immediate execution of the Earl of Crawford, Lord Ogilvy, Dr. Wishart, and the other loyalists."

At this time Lord Ogilvy was taken seriously ill, and as he was a born actor, he may have made the most of it. At any rate, he professed to be in sore straits and utterly prostrate, and petitioned Parliament to consult with his mother and other friends on his evil distemper, so that he might have the necessary attention. The Estates, in the belief that the illness was serious,

"Upon the desyre of the petition given in to thim be James, Lord Ogilvy, who remaines presentlie incarcerat within ye Tolbooth of Edinburgh, Be thir presentis, Gives heirby warrant and command to ye Keepeiris of ye said Tolbooth to admit and give access to William, Earl of Lothian, Alexander Hammiltoun, General of Artillery, Sir Adam Hepburne of Humbie; Sir Patrick Hammiltoun, Isobell Hammiltoun, Countess of Airlie, and to every ane of thame at sick tyme as thay or any of thame sall desyre, to visit and see the said Lord Ogilvy within the said Tolbooth in respect of his seikness and indisposition of bodie, mentionat in his supplicatioun whairanent thir presentis sall be sufficient warrand."

The Lords of the Congregation probably thought that if this sickness were indeed serious and malignant, the hand of God might relieve them of a terrible responsibility which they were reluctant to face, and at the same time would in large measure pacify the multitude who were now clamouring for his blood. The great slaughter of the soldiers of the Covenant at Inverlochy had created a panic throughout the country, and the demand for atonement was widespread and might become irresistible. The Lords were between two fires—the fear of offending the Church, and the fear that should they take extreme measures against Lord Ogilvy, the Royalists, now an all-conquering force, might revenge his death in the most ruthless fashion, as his friends had taken good care to publish abroad. In their reply to the remonstrance of the General Assembly, the Parliament "commended the Zeal and piety" of the ministers, but guardedly suggested that, while they were in agreement with the

terms of the petition and recognised the demand of the reverend gentlemen as in all respects just, and in the circumstances "laudable," the time was not the most convenient for this purpose. The day on which the Estates met to consider the foregoing petition, there was laid before them a remonstrance from Lord Ogilvy, dated 5th March, 1645, in which he protested and complained against his treatment as a common criminal while he claimed to be a prisoner of war. If he had not altogether overcome the effects of his illness, he had, at least, recovered his spirit. The following is recorded in the minute of Parliament:

"The report of the Committee of processis anent James, Lord Ogilvy, quho allidges that he is a prisoner of warre and not a private prisoner, and was taken on quarters: this was proposed in a quere by the said Committee to the House. This was committit to the severall Estates apairt."

Whatever consideration the Estates may have felt inclined to give to the protest and complaint was rudely interrupted by an outbreak of plague in Edinburgh, which drove the Parliament from the capital to Stirling, and then to Perth. The scourge swept through the city and carried off its victims by the hundred. Panic seized upon the populace, and the look of terror was borne on every face. The Grassmarket was a scene of death. Public places were deserted and people were afraid to come into contact with each other. Scarcely a house in the High Street escaped the pestilence, and in many of them the inmates were swept clean. It was an anxious time for the friends of the prisoners with death raging around them. Apart from the danger of infection, Lord Ogilvy suffered much from neglect. For days he had to go without food, as no one would venture across the Mound who could possibly avoid it. The condition of things may be gathered from the following petition by Lady Helen Ogilvy, which she presented in person to the Parliament at Perth and which is preserved among the State Papers:

"7th August, 1645.

UNTO THE HONOURABLE THE ESTATES OF PARLIAMENT

Humbly meaneth: Mistress Helen Ogilvy, Spouse to James Ogilvy. That gr. ye dangerous and pitifull estate of my said husband forceth me with teares to implore yor Lordships' compassioun wch I am confident you will charitablie grant when you are rightlie informed of my said husband's danger and indispositioun: for first, be his long imprisonment his bodie is visiblie decayed and pyned away and the strength yrof altogeddar abated, so that he is not able of himselfe to stand or walk. Next: thair is onlie ane boy allowed to attend him whoise father latlie died of the pest with whom the said boy wes shortlie before his decis. Thirdlie, Ye hous whair he wes furnishit his meit and drink is infected, and divers persons thairin died of ye plague. And be ye visitatioune of ye Town of Edinborough thair is few left of yat sort who can or will afford him any interteanment, and many tymes he will be fourtie eight hours without so much as ane cup of cold water. And weh distress is lykelie daylie to increase if it sall not pleas God in his mercie to stay the devouring pestilence in yat Town, whairby he is lykelie to die of hunger. And seeing I conceave it is farr from yr noble thoughtes That he sould perish in this kynd, Heirfore I humblie beseeks yor honours to tak this samyn to consideratioun, and in yor wisdom To provvde some course ar by he may be delyvered from ye present danger of pestilence and famine, and be putt in sik a place and conditioun yat he may have common benefites of meit and air and ordinary meanes of preservatioun of his health. And vor honours answer humblie I beseek as ye supplicatioun proportes."

The brave little woman who five years before had defied the Earl of Argyll at Airlie Castle now faced the assembled Lords of Parliament and addressed them in humble yet dignified words, and made her appeal to such good effect that they were moved to mitigate the lot of her husband. They had to take their courage in both hands in doing so, as they had already given great offence to the ministers in temporising with the demand for extreme measures with the Royalist prisoners. The Church speedily set the pace, and showed by their action what had been expected of the State, by immediately pronouncing from the pulpit of St. Giles's the excommunication of Lord Ogilvy. Lady Helen, however, gained her cause, as the minute records:

"Quhilke supplicatioun being upon ye 10th August instant read in audience of the Estates of Parliament and ye desyre yr of considerit be thame. The samyn wes then remittit be ye saidis Estates to ye severall bodies to be thought upon be thame; And the said supplicatioun of new again being this day read in yor audience, and the supplicant heard thairupon in face of Parliament, The saidis Estates after voyceing hes ordained and ordaines the above-named James Ogilvy to be transported from ye Tolbooth of Edinborough qr he is presentlie incarcerat to ye yle of Bass, To be keepit prisoner thair. And also ordaines Sir Patrick Hepburne of Wauchtown to receave the said James Ogilvy from ye Magistrates of ye Burgh of Edinborough to be carried to ye said Yle of Bass for yat effect with ane sufficient guard, upon ye pay and expense of ye Estates, and sicklyke, ordaines the Provost and Bailles of Edinborough to deliver the said James Ogilvy to ye said Sir Patrick Hepburne upon ye sight heirof and to tak instruments upon thair delivery of him to ye said Laird of Wauchtown. Quhilk the Estates declare sall be a sufficient liberatioun and exoneratioun to thame at all hands from all challenge."

Meantime, while the Convention of Estates were deliberating over the supplication of the heart-broken Lady Helen Ogilvy, who had implored their compassion. Lord Ogilvy's father was distinguishing himself on the battlefield of Kilsyth, and was mainly instrumental in scattering to the four winds the army of the Covenant, and which resounding victory was destined to open the gates of the Tolbooth. At the moment when the authorities were on the point of handing him over to Sir Patrick Hepburne for conveyance to the Bass Rock, the Royalists knocked at the gates of Edinburgh and demanded the submission and surrender of the city, which was promptly conceded, when a rush was made for the prison and Lord Ogilvy was released. Instead of being conveyed under a strong guard to the Isle of Bass. to which unhappy lot he had been forced to resign himself, he found awaiting him the horse that was to carry him to Berwick, and being informed of the situation, mounted it and rode west to Bothwell, where he joined his companions in arms. Whatever his physical condition may have been at the beginning of August, "not able of himself to stand or walk," by the end of the month, once he was free, in the open, and astride a good horse, he was extremely active and of great buoyancy of spirit. When, on 1st September, 1645, he joined the Royalist camp, the Earl of Airlie hailed him with delight, while the Marquis of Montrose was in great joy over the return to active service of his most intimate friend and his oldest comrade.

Now that Lord Ogilvy has again come upon the scene of active hostilities, it may be advisable to review briefly the situation, and to have regard to the objective of the Royalists at this particular juncture. During his year of incarceration in the Tolbooth, like John the Baptist in another of the world's great movements, he had heard in prison of the heroic deeds of his kinsman-how by his indomitable courage and skilful leadership he had victoriously subdued the country from the Spey to the Clyde, of which he was now virtually master, and which he held for the King. Flushed by a series of victories of astounding merit, the newly-appointed King's General and Vicerov now had in contemplation a march to the Tweed with the view, if possible, of effecting a junction of his army with that of Charles I. in a great effort to establish the royal authority in the two kingdoms. was a bold enterprise, but with good-fortune it might nevertheless be within the compass of his power. He had done wonders already, and there was good hope that he might accomplish still greater things. But unfortunately, as he had often experienced throughout his campaign, he again renewed his acquaintance with the disconcerting fact that his army had the singular disposition of disappearing in the hour of victory; and as generalship without men will not win battles, the Marquis of Montrose, in what proved to be the crisis of his fortune, had to do what he had often done before-begin again the weary work of recruiting. The Highlanders, disappointed that they had not been allowed to plunder the rich city of Glasgow, on which they had set their

hearts, had returned to their homes in the Grampians. Most of the Irish had gone looting on their own account, while the western clans had persuaded themselves that their own homesteads stood in need of their protecting It was greatly disappointing that the best fighting material should desert the cause at the moment when a herculean effort was in front of them, and, as events proved, it was disastrous.

On joining the army at Bothwell, Lord Ogilvy was immediately reinstated in his former position as Aidede-Camp, which he held jointly with Viscount Aboyne. This mark of partiality, though well intended, gave great offence to the heir of the Gordons, and, as will be seen presently, excited feelings of jealousy which led to an unfortunate rupture of a long-standing friendship. It appears that the Marquis of Montrose did not try to conceal his deep affection for his cousin and his confidence in his capability. Neither was he, any more than was the Earl of Airlie, greatly agitated over his health or his fitness for duty, as, two days after his arrival in camp. he, along with his friend the Marquis of Douglas, was despatched to the Border to watch the movements of the enemy and raise levies. As showing the confidence which the Royalist leader had in his judgment, the following letter may be given as it was written at this time in reply to a communication from Lord Ogilvy reporting the state of the country through which he had passed:

# "My Lord:

I received yours, and desire you have good intelligence and make all possible dispatch: for Home and Roxburgh long for you; and have sent to me this day for a party. Hasten to them; and acquaint me with your opinion of my advance, and what you are able to do, and when you think we may best join you;

> I Am. Your humble Servant. MONTROSE."

The Earls of Home and Roxburgh, referred to in this letter-who, at the outset of the Royalist leader's great adventure, not only held back from the movement but were to a certain degree inimical to it-had now, like many others on the wave of success, apparently changed their minds and had offered their arms to the cause of Charles I. According to the above instruction, Lord Ogilvy met and interviewed them, with the result that they agreed to muster their forces and join up at the appointed rendezvous. Other Border chiefs were approached in similar fashion and agreed to augment the King's army, and as the messenger who brought the commission to the Marquis of Montrose appointing him "Viceroy of Scotland" brought also an urgent message to link up with the great Border Earls in advancing to the Tweed, the recruiting campaign seemed on a fair way to achieve the army of twenty thousand men which the King's General had hopes of raising for the final bid for victory. But it proved to be a delusion. The new allies had never from the first intended to risk anything for the King; neither would they hazard their own interests for the Covenant. It was their cue to be loyal; and while professing sympathy with the Royalists, they kept a watchful eye for the advancing banner of the Covenant. They were not frankly neutral, but were prepared to take the winning side: to "run with the hare and hunt with the hounds." In this frame of mind, it was not surprising that, when intercepted by General Leslie, the Earls of Home and Roxburgh surrendered without an effort, and were even accused of having petitioned for arrest to extricate them from their lukewarm position. Thus, in this direction, Lord Ogilvy's recruiting was in He was more fortunate, however, in other quarters, as he succeeded in raising and marching into the Royalist camp twelve hundred horse, chiefly of Border lairds, their sons and retainers. But he discovered in the southern counties a different atmosphere from that which prevailed in the Midlands and North of Scotland. There, in many quarters, were grave doubts as to the wisdom of fighting for Charles I., as the success of the King might mean the destruction of their religious form of worship; while wild stories were afloat of the unbridled lust, rapine, and murder practised by the Royalists throughout the country. All these facts Lord Ogilvy was careful to report to his chief as contributing to the indifferent response he had met with and explanatory of the lukewarm attitude of the borders. In respect to the other matter of his commission, "to watch the movements of the enemy," he had kept his eyes and ears open, and had travelled as far south as Carlisle. There, by arrangement, he met the Marquis of Douglas, who had scoured the west marches, when they drew up a joint report which they sent by special messenger to Kelso. Acknowledging this the Marquis of Montrose wrote:

## "My Lords:

Understanding, by this gentleman, the bearer, that your Lordships are advanced to the Carlisle way, I hope you have not taken that course but upon weighty considerations, and that it will be no impediment for your speedy return by Buccleuch, Tweddale, and the Merse, that we may meet in East Lothian. Your Lordships will use all your best endeavours about the Border for intelligence concerning the enemy, and let me hear frequently from you, which expecting,

Your Lordships humble servant,
Montrose.'

It may be gathered from this letter that it was the intention of the Royalist leader to march through the Lothians, and then descend by one of the passes of the Lammermoors to the country of the Earls of Home and Roxburgh, and this on the strength of Lord Ogilvy's report of his meeting with these noblemen. Relying on their good faith, on 4th September, 1645, he broke up his camp at Bothwell and began his fatal march towards the Tweed. It commenced with ill-omen, if it ended in disaster.

"O beware, My Lord, of jealousy;
It is the green-eyed monster, which doth mock
The meat it feeds on."

Ever since the return of Lord Ogilvy, which gave rapturous delight to his cousin, the Marquis of Montrose, Viscount Aboyne had become sulky, discontented, and morose. It was all Lord Ogilvy now, and the heir of the proud Gordons would not tolerate a rival, and deeply resented this partiality. At the time it was shrewdly suspected that the scheming mind of the Marquis of Argyll might be at the back of the trouble; for it was not forgotten that the Marchioness of Huntly was a sister of the Chief of the Campbells, and home influence was brought to bear upon him, as later information showed. But the canker of his mind was of other days and arose chiefly out of his own jealous disposition. Aboyne was said to be out of humour since the Battle of Alford, where the Ogilvys outshone the Gordons, and angry because the Marquis of Montrose had not, as he thought, praised him sufficiently to the King; and this ill-humour was accentuated on Lord Ogilvy's return to the army and by the wave of rejoicing with which he was welcomed in the Royalist camp. While the ostensible reason for his action was alleged to be on the ground that the Earl of Crawford was given the command of the cavalry in preference to himself, it was well enough understood that the real cause was jealousy of Lord Ogilvy's popularity. At this time when so much was at stake, a further unfortunate rift in the ranks occurred. when at the end of the first day's march he called out his followers and withdrew from the army. When Lord Ogilvy, a few days later, joined up with the levies he had recruited on the Border and learned of this Gordon defection, he was greatly distressed. It may be that he had suspected, or had been given an inkling of, at least one cause of the desertion, which would make him feel it all the more acutely. Whole-hearted himself in the cause, with no thought of personal ambition, with but the single desire to do his best in the accomplishment of the purpose on which his heart was set, jealousy found no lodgment in his active, self-forgetting mind. In his case the zeal of his royal master's cause had eaten him up. He had but one thought in his mind, one aim set before him-to conquer for the King. Nevertheless he was deeply grieved that jealousy of him, undeserved as it was unworthy and unprovoked, should have led to such serious results. What Lord Ogilvy could do to redress the grievance he did. From the following letter it may be gathered that he was not unaware of what had been working in Viscount Aboyne's mind for some time back, the nature of the influence that had been brought to bear upon him, and the source whence it emanated. If he wrote plainly, it was his wont to give an honest statement of the facts that had come to his knowledge, and the motives which lay behind them. The letter is undated, but it was probably written on or about 6th September, 1645:

### "My LORD.

Though I know all ye baits and enticements of ye worlde will not be able to make you do anything unworthie of youre selfe, yet, my Lord, my constante affectioun and brotherhood to youre selfe and respect to youre old honourabill familie, whairunto you have now chiefiest<sup>1</sup> interest, inforceth me to present to yo<sup>r</sup> Lordship, in youre honour, that q<sup>ch</sup> doth concern yo<sup>r</sup> Lordship: that, knowing of it, you may be upon youre guard. Argyll leaves no winds unfurled to sow dissension among you and draw yo<sup>r</sup> Lordship off, and hath offered a freind of yours to write to yat effect to you and to youre father, by Provost Leslie of Aberdeen.

Lykewise, Harry Montgomerie hath commissioun to my Lord, youre father and to youre Lordship's selfe for yat end, and is on his journay. I think he be now northward, having got my Lord Drummond's fine of £30,000. Both Drummond and your sister hath sent me word, desyring yat I should with all expeditioun shew yor Lordship, yat yor Lordship should tak some fift opportunitie for taking Montgomerie prisoner.

As also yat Argyll, notwithstanding of any oath or promise yat he may seem to mak to you, does intend nothing but youre dishonour, the utter extirpating of all memory of youre old familie, and, if it could lie on youre hands, the ruinating and betraying of ye King's service. And this my Lady Drummond told me befor I cam out of prison; and since, she sent me commission to entreat yat you will not be ensnared: for thay are striving to draw yor Lordship off and others, thinking thairby to turn every man as desparat as themselffes. So thay are begging grace to them selffes but cannot obtain it, and seeing thay see nothing but inevitable ruin befor thame thay would engage deeply innocents with thame.

<sup>2</sup> Lady Drummond.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> His elder brother was killed at Alford, 2nd July, 1645.

I know yor Lordship's gallantrie to be such yat I will not presume to goe furthar than faithfullie to render up my commission to you. When anything further worthie of yor Lordship's knowledge occurs, I shall instantlie give notice thairof.

In the interim, I continue Yor Lordship's humble Servant,

OGILVY."

Although it is anticipating, it may yet be stated that there is good reason to believe that this letter was not without its effect upon Viscount Aboyne, and, while he had done His Majesty's cause a grave injury at a most critical juncture by calling out four hundred horse and a large body of foot-practically the half of the Royalist army at the moment-it was the means of effectually opening his eyes to the scheming which had for its object to poison the spring of his loyalty, and if it had not the effect of inducing him to return immediately to the ranks. he at least showed at a later date that he had recognised his folly, and was willing to repair his ill-tempered action and unworthy jealousy. But for the time being he imperilled the cause for which he had professed an undving attachment, and in support of which for the most part of a year he had devoted his energy and had contributed largely to strengthen its forces. When the news of the disaster reached him and he fully apprehended the fact that the royal cause lay stranded in the dust, he was inconsolable. The ill-fated Battle of Philiphaugh has been much criticised as in every way affording a striking contrast to the rest of the campaign. Failure, of course, is always a prolific seed-bed of criticism; while success, as being ever gratifying to the feelings, stands singularly exempt and immune. There were, however, in this instance many elements which contributed to the failure which were absent in the former series of victories. For one thing, the material of which, for the most part, the army was composed was greatly inferior. Apart from the eighty Ogilvy horsemen who had proved their metal, the Border levies consisted chiefly of raw recruits unused to arms, and many of them scarcely able to manage their horses. Inferior

in quality, the Royalists were greatly inferior in numbers, like one to four of the enemy, and some of them of doubtful loyalty. A matter, too, of considerable importance which was material to the situation was the fact that they were operating in an enemy country whose population, rigidly Presbyterian, were carefully fostered by the Covenanters to regard with deep suspicion the movement in favour of the King as likely to lead, were it successful, to the reassertion of that arbitrary power against which they had fought; while they were as careful to disseminate the view that the Royalist campaign was synonymous with all that was barbarous and inhuman. But the disposition of the army seems to have been the most perplexing feature of all. Philiphaugh was selected for its strategic value, and those who were capable of judging on such a matter have long since avowed that the position was a strong one, lending itself to a formidable defence. Yet, singularly enough, the keen eye of the Marquis of Montrose for once failed to make the best of a situation, and by some strange fancy, while the main body of his troops was encamped on the left bank of the Ettrick, the greater part of his horse and all his principal officers and himself were lodged in the town of Selkirk on the opposite bank of the river. His army was thus divided in half, and when the attack came suddenly, as already described, the situation was hopeless from the start. There was confusion everywhere. Lord Ogilvy fought side by side with the Marquis of Montrose in the thick of the fight, and though, by their skilled horsemanship and dexterous sword-play, they unhorsed many of General Leslie's troopers and cut their way through in the hope of relieving the pressure, it was of no avail. The battle, if it can be so denominated, was lost. Lord Ogilvy's horse was badly wounded, and on being urged to quit the field, he made one last effort by fighting his way through the ranks of the enemy, when he dashed through the river and, gaining the level ground, rode out into the mist, though not knowing whither he went. He had his usual ill-luck. The horse he mounted had been more seriously wounded than he

knew, and after galloping three miles into the country it broke down under him. The roads being dangerous, as the enemy was in hot pursuit, he took to the fields and wandered about in the dense mist, having completely lost his bearings, till at length he stumbled on a peasant's cottage, where he was graciously received, kindly treated, and hospitably entertained—and basely betrayed to the enemy.

Little more than three weeks since he left the Tolbooth he was again on his way to renew his acquaintance with prison life, and this time the outlook was serious. When the prisoners of quality were assembled at Selkirk, it would be a great relief to Lord Ogilvy that his father was not of the number. But there was a goodly array of his most intimate friends: the Earl of Hartfell; Lord Drummond; Sir Robert Spottiswood; Sir William Rollo; Sir Philip Nisbet; Sir Alexander Leslie; William Murray, brother of the Earl of Tullibardine; Alexander Ogilvy, younger, of Inverquharity; Nathaniel Gordon; Andrew Guthrie, son of the Bishop of Moray. Surrounded by a strong guard, this company of bold cavaliers, who had adventured all for the King, had staked and lost, were marched by way of the Lothians to Glasgow. As yet Edinburgh was considered an infected area, the plague not having exhausted itself, while the Estates of Parliament by a strange irony had been summoned to meet in the western city on 20th October, 1645 -the day selected by the Marquis of Montrose as the King's Viceroy for the meeting of his Parliament. The Committee of Estates met as a Judiciary Council, and sat in judgment on the prisoners. The trial might be in form, but the verdict was a foregone conclusion. The rank and file, and especially the Irish prisoners, swung from gibbets without the semblance of a hearing. The officers, who were all men of quality and many of them connected to powerful families, were granted the usual procedure of a legal process. While some of the members of the Committee, fearing perhaps to take extreme measures lest a new insurrection might arise, were inclined to be merciful in the hope of allaying passion,

the wave of public opinion, and especially that of the ministers of religion, was running so high in favour of the utmost rigour of the law and judgment without mercy, that the doom of the prisoners was sealed, and not one of them might dare to hope for mercy. As showing the bitterness of the feeling, the following extract from a letter written by the Reverend Principal of the University of Glasgow to a brother-divine in Fife may be given. It is dated three days before the meeting of the Committee:

"It is thought that Ogilvy, Hartfell, Sir John Hay, and Sir Robert Spottiswood, and divers other persons, will lose their heads, that, for once, some justice may be done on some for example; albeit, to this day no man in England has been executed for bearing arms against the Parliament."

By the execution of the Earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud, however, the English Parliament had recently given the necessary precedent and set the example how to deal with political offenders, which the Covenanting Lords were not slow to quote and emulate. The Royalists, it is true, waged a ruthless warfare. In Argyleshire it was "fire and sword" with little discrimination, only the women and children being spared. At Kilsyth, like as "Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal," the enemy were cut down with merciless slaughter. "They killed men," it has been said, "with no more feeling of compassion, and with the same careless neglect that they kill a hen or a capon for supper." The prisoners of Philiphaugh could not hope for mercy in such an atmosphere as this, nor did they receive any commiseration for their crimes. Now that they were in the power of the enemy, it was to be blood for blood and life for life. Every head was forfeit. The day following the meeting of Estates, the first head rolled along the causeway. It was that of Sir William Rollo. Others followed at intervals, to the supreme delight of the citizens of Glasgow; and when the head of young Ogilvy of Inverquharity (a youth still in his teens) fell into the ditch, the godly minister of St. Davids, rubbing his hands, exclaimed that "the work goes bonnily on." How many heads might have adorned the gate of Duke Street there is no saying, had it not been for two circumstances. The first was a strong feeling on the part of other counties which had contributed to the ranks of the Covenanting army that they should share the honour of the executions with the city of St. Mungo, and especially the county of Fife, which had represented that it was due to the populace of their district that some of the more prominent prisoners should be executed there, that their blood might atone for the number of persons whom the county had lost during the Civil War. The other circumstance which staved the hand of the Committee of Estates was the currency of a wild rumour that the Marquis of Montrose and the Earl of Airlie had assembled an army and were again on the war-path, making for the west country. Lord Ogilvy, whose head was in great demand as a chief offender, had his case postponed, as the moderate element of the lay Covenanters had their scruples over the wisdom of such wholesale slaughter. This conjunction of circumstances called for a pause in the work of execution; and it was ultimately decided, much to the disappointment of the ministers of the Church, to delay carrying out the remainder of the executions "till another Season."

The venue was changed, but the policy remained. The Committee of Estates had been summoned to meet at St. Andrews on 26th November, 1645, and as a contribution towards the gratification of the inhabitants of Fife who had desired such recognition of their loyalty, Lord Ogilvy, the Earl of Hartfell, Sir Robert Spottiswood, William Murray, and Andrew Guthrie were transported to the University city to await their trial and execution, and were confined in the Castle of St. Andrews. What memories the visit would arouse in Lord Ogilvy's mind! There he had spent four happy years in delightful companionship with his cousin, the Marquis of Montrose, playing golf on the links; riding for miles over the country, every yard of which he knew

in all directions; and besides the "Logicks and Geometrie," in the zealous study of which he took his tutor by surprise, he displayed that delightful catholicity of friendship which made him "intirelie beloved" by "all his co-disciples of whatsoever degrie." He now renewed his acquaintance with these scenes and memories of his youth under very different conditions and with but a gloomy outlook. His head was forfeit; his days were wellnigh numbered. He need hope for no mercy, for he was a "chief of Sinners."

The Committee of Estates met agreeably to appointment, and, as was the custom, their deliberations were prefaced by a religious service in the parish church, which the prisoners attended. The Rev. Robert Blair discoursed at great length on a passage of Scripture taken from Psalm ci., the last verse, which was a fitting prelude to the business on hand:

"I will early destroy the wicked of the land; that I may cut off all wicked doers from the city of the Lord."

The tenor of the discourse showed the prisoners what they might expect as the result of their wicked rebellion against the Covenant. But if Lord Ogilvy's head were to go, it would not be for want of doing his best to save it. There was little chance of doing so, but he would at least lose it in a Constitutional manner. While the Committee were engaged in the transaction of formal business of State, which extended over several days. Lord Ogilvy used this breathing-space to draw up a petition which he submitted for their consideration, in which he called in question the authority of the tribunal before which he was to appear, and demanded that he should be tried by the Parliament and not by a Sectional Committee; failing which, by a Judge of the High Court of Justice, or by an inquest of his peers. This demand he set forth on the following grounds:

"(1) That seeing the business is of so great import and the consequence of it, and decision of those points which will fall in dispute in our process will concern so much both the Kingdoms, yor Lordships will be pleased to take to your considera-

tion our defences and discuss our process in plain Parliament and not to remit to a particular Committee the decision of questions of so public and universal concernment, which is to have the force of a Law, and accordinglie to be received in

practice to all those who are in arms in the Kingdom.

(2) That to ye effect foresaid yor Lordships will be pleased to consider that it is one of the fundamental Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom and that Peers of the Kingdom and utheris cannot be judged upon ye hazard of their life and estate but by their Peers, and though the Supreme Court of Parliament may take to their own knowledge any process of judgment by themselves in plain Parliamentary way, if that way be not taken we are confident that without offence we may alledge to that ancient Libertie and Privilege and humblie crave that we may be judged either by yor Lordships in plain Parliament, or in the ordinary way be the Judge Ordinair and enquest of our Peers.

(3) We humblie desire that Sir Archibald Johnston may forbear to sit and voice in our process; because it is notorious what his opinions, and professions, and desires are against our carriage and commerce; and in that regard being so suspect to us we would expect he should abstain inasmuch as he has declared a party or Solicitor against us."

Before proceeding to the trial, the Committee, on receiving this petition, deemed that it would be at least prudent to proceed with caution, and they adjourned till 4th December, 1645, when the petition should be discussed on its merits. When the Committee resumed there was a lengthened discussion, in which the moderate members showed considerable uneasiness over the prospect of wholesale slaughter, and were willing to avail themselves of the loophole provided in the petition of throwing the responsibility on the broader shoulders of the whole Parliament, but the majority of the Committee decided otherwise. Sir Archibald Johnston, the Procurator of the Church, to whose presence as a Judge Lord Ogilvy objected, moved that the petition be rejected, and in doing so

"urged the need of unity among themselves; to lay all private respects and interests aside, and to do justice on delinquents and malignants, shewing that their delaying formerly had provoked God's two great Servants against them—the sword and the pestilence which had ploughed up the land in deep furrows. He shewed that the massacre of Kilsyth was never to be forgotten and that God, who was the just Judge of the world, would not but judge righteously and keep in remembrance that sea of innocent blood which lay before His throne crying for vengeance on these bloodthirsty rebels, the butchers of so many innocent Souls."

The Committee, as might be expected, "repelled the pleas of the supplication, and while reserving the alleged solicitation of Sir Archibald Johnston, ordered the trial to proceed before the Committee." But there was nevertheless great hesitation to come to close quarters, and again there was an adjournment till 16th January, 1646.

What the Committee were in need of was supplied without stint during the interval. If Lord Ogilvy's friends, and they were many and powerful, had been holding threats over the Committee of Estates which made some of them fear and hesitate, the ministers throughout the country provided the necessary antidote which left no room to doubt that the overwhelming opinion was in favour of his execution. If this were what they were waiting for, they received it in full measure. On their reassembling, a humble remonstrance from the Commission of the General Assembly was laid before them, accompanied by four petitions from the Synods and Provincial Assemblies of Merse and Teviotdale, Fife, Dumfries, and Galloway, which were "read in audience of the Parliament." They were equally pronounced and determined of purpose, and that of the Synod of Fife may be taken as reflecting the general tenor of the outcry:

"The Synod would remind the Estates how the people of the County were never backward in defence of the Covenant; albeit, the Lord in His just displeasure, did withhold the desired success. But we trust it will not be thought unbecoming our place and calling, humbly and earnestly, to supplicate that, as we have heard your zealous purpose of executing justice upon these bloody men whom God hath put in your hands, so just and laudable a resolution may speedily be put in execution." The Committee were by these remonstrances braced up and given the necessary courage derived from the hope of popular applause to act with decision, which they were now prepared to do. But Lord Ogilvy, having had time to think over the situation, now raised a fresh point in his defence, and one which threatened to create a cleavage in the ranks of his judges. He was not prepared to yield up his life without a struggle, and would keep his head on his shoulders if he could. In the name of himself and his fellow-prisoners, he presented a petition the crux of which was "that they had been taken on quarter, asked and granted." In the discussion which arose on this issue, the Earls of Dunfermline, Cassilis, Lanerick, and Carnwath expressed themselves as "not clear on the point of quarter"; but this in no way indicated an inclination to the side of clemency. This delightful Christian virtue was not in all their thoughts, and if by any manner of means it should have found a lodgment in a remote corner of their hearts, the Marquis of Argyll was ever ready to disabuse such inconsistency with the strict law of justice. As a matter of fact, so far as Lord Ogilvy was concerned, in the minds of the whole Committee he was doomed to the blocknot only for his own, but also for his father's crimes. For him there was no possible chance of escape. He was in himself and represented the head and front of the great transgression against the Covenant, which on every occasion he defied, and was even now outwith the pale of religion, an excommunicated person. The plea of being "taken on quarter asked and granted" was thus by a majority repelled. But some members of the Committee were of the mind to recognise degrees of guilt. If Lord Ogilvy and the Earl of Hartfell were without extenuating circumstances inasmuch as they had been leaders in the fight, a minority of the Committee, consisting of the Earls of Eglinton, Glencairn, Kinghorn, Dunfermline, and Buccleuch, were willing to discriminate, and gave their votes in favour of imprisonment for life in the cases of William Murray and Sir Robert Spottiswood: but this was rejected. All the heads must go. Towards sundown on Friday, 16th January, 1646, the prisoners were placed in the dock, and the judgment of the Committee of Estates intimated to them that they were "condemned to be beheaded at the Market Cross of St. Andrews on the following Tuesday, the 20th day of the said month." But as the gentle Nerissa said to Portia,

"Hanging and wiving goes by destiny."

The Earl of Airlie was in the hills of Atholl making strenuous efforts to raise a force for the invasion of Fife and, if possible, rescue his son from the doom that awaited him. This now proved to be beyond the compass of his power. The army required for this purpose was not forthcoming either in numbers or in time. But if he were helpless, the Countess of Airlie did not allow the grass to grow under her feet. She had kept in touch with the motions of the Committee, and the ladies at Cortachy Castle were busily engaged in hatching a scheme which, if fortune should favour them, might accomplish the desired end. Lady Airlie, on learning the verdict, at once made application through her brother. Sir Patrick Hamilton, who had kept watch over the proceedings at St. Andrews, to be allowed the privilege of visiting and taking farewell of her son. The necessary license was immediately granted. There was every likelihood that Lord Ogilvy was not only apprised of the visit, but by some means was informed of its intention. As already remarked of him, he was a man of resource, quick-witted, a born actor, and an adept at playing any part that occasion required of him. By his genial good-nature he had gained the attachment of the guards who watched over him in the Castle prison. It suited his purpose to feign collapse at the near prospect of execution, and by Sunday he was very ill and confined to bed. Monday came and found him much worse, still prostrate and unable to rise. He looked and seemed to feel utterly undone. On this day, "the Maiden "-a rude kind of guillotine, introduced into Scotland by the Earl of Morton during his regency, as a

more expeditious and certain engine for severing the head from the body—was brought over from Dundee and placed in position in readiness for the executions of the morrow.

Late on this winter afternoon, just as the sun had set and darkness was closing over the face of Nature, three women rode into St. Andrews accompanied by three grooms. Dismounting at the West Port, they traversed the main street of the city off which they gained access to the Castle, where Lord Ogilvy was confined in the twofold sense of being prisoner and bedridden. While the women made direct for the place of internment, the grooms took charge of the six horses and saw that they were carefully stabled; two of them having their particular care, being well rubbed down and receiving an extra feed of oats and an abundant supply of hay. The three women who entered the Castle were the Countess of Airlie, Lady Helen Ogilvy, and Lady Margaret Ogilvymother, wife, and sister. As the first two are tolerably well known in this history, it now remains to introduce and make the acquaintance of Lady Margaret. She was the eldest daughter of the family, and little more than eighteen months younger than Lord Ogilvy. By one of those sympathetic touches of Nature which is frequently observable in families, she bore a striking likeness to her brother in the broad outline of her physical features, resembling him in stature, in the colour of her hair, and had the same fresh complexion. Fortunately as matters now stood, she was gifted with the same happy temperament, ready wit, and quick dexterity of purpose. She was the mimic of the family, and wonderfully clever and adroit in playing a part. All these gifts of Nature and acquirements of art she was now to put into full play, if by any chance she could save her brother. It required boldness, courage, self-control, and she possessed these qualities. On the admission of the three ladies to the room of the Castle where Lord Ogilvy was interned and confined to bed, the guards who kept watch in the chamber respectfully withdrew. With their departure his sickness suddenly terminated. He was soon out of bed. active and alert. It was now Lady Margaret's turn to be sick and prostrate. Undoing her dress, she assumed Lord Ogilvy's nightgown and nightcap and got into bed, while he dressed himself in her clothes. After almost two hours of administering such ghostly comfort as the occasion required, by eight o'clock on a dark winter night, an hour before the moon was timed to rise, when the guards returned to inform the visitors that the allotted time had expired, they found the three ladies standing by the bedside overcome with grief. Tender was their farewell and lavish were the tears they shed as they embraced, on parting, the unfortunate son, husband and brother, whose nightcap almost covered his eyes, as if to conceal as much as possible the sorrowful parting; but he spake never a word, so uncontrollable were the feelings which agitated him. He was mercifully left alone in the chamber while the three tear-bedewed ladies were ushered along a dark corridor by the aid of torchlight, which, casting strange shadows in the surrounding gloom, served to conceal as much as to illumine the departing visitors; so that the guards did not observe the exchange that had been effected, and they were allowed to pass through the gateway out into the night unsuspected as they were unchallenged. Outside the city two horses were waiting in readiness on the chance of the scheme succeeding. There was no time to lose. Quick as thought, Lord Ogilvy took off his sister's dress and headgear, and, donning a suit that was held in reserve, mounted a high-mettled steed and, accompanied by a hardy man from Cortachy, rode at full speed across Fife and Kinross, and, descending the Ochil Pass, did not draw rein until, well on in the morning, he arrived in Menteith, his horse covered with foam.

The Countess of Airlie and Lady Helen Ogilvy returned to St. Andrews, where they were joined by Sir Patrick Hamilton of Little Preston. They had now anxiously to await the sequel of their bold enterprise and the possible consequences to Lady Margaret. Many and anxious were the thoughts which must have passed through that young lady's mind during the night in her gloomy prison.

How eagerly she must have listened at the outset for footsteps that did not come; and how glad at heart she must have felt that the corridor did not echo the tramp of armed men. As the hours wore on she became all the more relieved, and by the time the city clock struck the hour of midnight, she gathered courage, for then she was confident that Lord Ogilvy was far from St. Andrews and saved. She had now to think of herself and the peculiar situation in which she was placed. She speedily recovered her good-humour, and relished the amusing side of the exploit. She had won handsomely, and could now afford to laugh. At the sound of matins she stood in readiness to greet the guards as they entered the chamber. Discarding the nightcap, and with her long flowing chestnut tresses hanging loosely over her shoulders, she received them with the most profound salutation and mirth-provoking smile, at sight of which they were stricken speechless. The head which it had been arranged was to initiate the day's proceedings and make atonement to the people of Fife had escaped them. guards were in an awkward predicament. Like the jailer of Sacred Writ, who, seeing the doors of the prison open and concluding that his prisoners had fled, thought at once of the serious consequences to himself, they apprehended the danger of their situation, but immediately apprised the authorities of what had happened. The Marquis of Argyll, it has been recorded, was furious at Lord Ogilvy's escape, and all the influence of the Hamiltons was needed to save her from his anger. especially the exertions on her behalf of the Earl of Lanerick and Lord Lindsay. The guards were brought to trial, and being severely questioned, John Fletcher. who had shown the weeping ladies out of the Castle, was "remitted for furder tryall." In his depositions, which "were immediately read in the House," he attacked "the Lords Carnegie, St. Claire, and Kircudbright" as having contributed to "Ogilveyes eschape." Lady Margaret Ogilvy was, after two days' confinement, set at liberty, while the Marquis of Argyll, chagrined at being deprived of a head of the hated House of Airlie, and to spite the

Hamiltons, with whom the Earl of Hartfell was unfriendly, granted him a free pardon.

Lord Ogilvy did not tarry longer than was necessary in the Menteith district of Perthshire. On the fringe of Covenant country, the inhabitants were of mixed sympathies. His experience after Philiphaugh had taught him the need of care and caution. It might be taken as certain that the Estates of Parliament, having failed to execute him, would leave no stone unturned to effect his recapture. While the other executions went on, these were shorn of the glamour of the tragedy by the escape of the chief malefactor. There was need for expedition as well as circumspection; for within a few days there was issued and posted broadcast throughout the country the following proclamation:

"28th January, 1646.

#### ORDINANCE ANENT JAMES OGILVY-HIS ESCAPE

The Estates of Parliament certified, from the Commission for the processes, of the escape of James Ogilvy, late Lord Ogilvy, out of the Castle of St. Andrews, where he was incarcerated, they approve the order already emitted thereanent by the Commission for the processes, and do hereby make offer and make assurance of real payment, of one thousand pounds sterling, to be paid to any one who shall bring in the said James Ogilvy, dead or alive, to the Estates of Parliament. And ordains public proclamation hereof by open proclamation, after sound of trumpet, at the Market Cross of St. Andrews."

As soon as the horses were rested, Lord Ogilvy, accompanied by the Cortachy groom and now furnished with a trusty weapon, set out for safer quarters along the foothills of the Grampians. There he would be safe, for there the people were not only in sympathy with him but dearly loved to shield such a bold adventurer. Keeping well to the uplands of Strathearn, he gained the Atholl hills, and on the third day after his escape, late in the afternoon, he rode into the Royalist camp at Blair, to the rapturous delight of his father, who had given him up for lost, but now, to his surprise as to his indescribable joy, he was found.

Five months later, when Charles I. wrote to the Marquis of Montrose commanding him to lay down his arms, he added the solicitation:

"desiring you to let Huntly, Crawford, Airly, Seaforth, and Ogilvy know that want of time hath made me now emit to reiterate my former command to them, intending that this shall serve for all, assuring them, and all the rest of my friends, that, whenever God shall enable me, they shall reap the fruits of their loyalty and affection to my service."

Lord Ogilvy was included in the terms of peace granted to the Marquis of Montrose, and received a full pardon, greatly to the annoyance of the Estates of Parliament and the ministers of the Church. But, however much they might dislike the settlement, they were helpless to change its terms, as General Middleton took good care that his word of honour should be respected. If the Estates could only grin and bear it, the Church, to gratify a feeling which ran high and hostile, took occasion for the second time to pronounce his excommunication.

The next two years form one of the few quiet periods in Lord Ogilvy's life. He was soon to be in the thick of the fight again, but during this brief interlude he spent most of his time, with an occasional visit to the family property in Banff, in the new home where Lady Helen Ogilvy and the children had recently settled. When the Earl of Airlie, in 1635, purchased the lands of Balloch. which included the barony of Alyth, he bestowed them upon Lord Ogilvy on attaining his majority. After the burning of Airlie and Forther Castles in 1640, the only available residence was Cortachy Castle, where in the emergency all the members of the family were housed. Soon after the Earl's return from England in 1641, Balloch House, built in the fourteenth century by the Lindsays, was thoroughly renovated, and by 1643 was occupied by Lady Helen Ogilvy. By this time, however, Lord Ogilvy had launched out into the deep currents of political strife, and with the Marquis of Montrose was at Oxford with Charles I., putting in train the movement

which culminated in the Civil War. With the exception of a few months immediately preceding the outbreak, which he spent mostly at Cortachy, he was destined to know little of his new home till the brief period of quiet to which this narrative has now arrived. Indeed, it was the only restful time he was privileged to experience for many long years. Whether he enjoyed it is a moot question; for to his restless spirit absence of occupation was not rest. He must always be on the move. There was business on hand in the country, it is true, but this did not coincide with his sympathy. Strange things were happening which he could only watch from a distance. The Scottish army, to which Charles I. in his extremity had fled for protection, had, as the Marquis of Montrose predicted, handed him over to the English Parliament, and the soldiers of the Covenant were on their way home with well-filled purses and subsidies for Covenanting nobles; making themselves the talk of every Court and camp in Europe, reproached with their greed and treachery in the popular rhyme:

## "Traitor Scot, sold his King for a groat."

Lord Ogilvy, like the great majority of the Scottish people, might deplore this unworthy action, but he was helpless and could only watch and wait. A few months later, when Oliver Cromwell's army took the King in charge, he saw signs of a development which might yield a chance to be of service to His Majesty. There was a rift in the ranks of the Covenant. He watched the movement with jealous eyes in the hope that out of the strife of sects a moderate royalism might come by its own. had been informed of the "Engagement" at Carisbrooke Castle by which the Lord Chancellor Loudon, and the Earls of Lanerick and Lauderdale, engaged to put the arms of Scotland at the disposal of Charles. He was ready at a moment's notice to enter the field. When the Convention of Estates met in Edinburgh, on 2nd March, 1648, the gathering disclosed how vast a change had come over the spirit of the nation; for, on a motion to take immediate action against England in defence of the

King, with the exception of a few of the more fanatical Covenanters, it was solidly approved. Again, when a month later a demand was sent to the English Parliament for the liberation of Charles, failing which war would be declared against that country, Lord Ogilvy had visions of striking a blow for the King. And so he would had he been allowed; but when the raising of an army was in progress, he was debarred from service by the "Act of Classes" on the ground that he had refused to subscribe the Covenant. He was, however, saved from sharing the disastrous rout of the Scottish army at Preston. He could but watch and wait: he had not long to wait. If the imprisonment of Charles I. caused a rupture in the ranks of the Covenant, his execution scattered it to the four winds. Lord Ogilvy could wait no longer. General Middleton, on the betraval of the King, had deserted the Covenant, and had opened up negotiations with Lord Ogilvy and others who had been prominent in the Marquis of Montrose's campaign with the view of making war against the Covenanting party, or, at least, that section of it which had so basely betrayed the King. In little more than a week after the execution of Charles became known in Scotland, both of them were in the Seaforth country, and by the month of March, 1649, along with Lord Reay and Lewis Gordon (who, before the month was out, became Marquis of Huntly), had raised a considerable army of the Clan Mackenzie, had taken Inverness, and by their guerrilla tactics were giving considerable trouble to General Leslie, the Covenant Commander who was in the north holding the fort in that centre of royalism. This was a vexatious trouble to the Convention of Estates, which, deeply sensible of the indignation that pervaded the country over the death of Charles I., were preparing to bend before the storm, and had actually, as it turned out, in contemplation the proposal to offer the Crown to Charles II. For this purpose it was desirable that the three parties in the State should be united. While General Leslie had been able to disperse this rising and might hold it in check, the Estates of Parliament tried

what might be effected by conciliatory measures. For once they chose the line of least resistance and sweet reasonableness, in the hope that by moral suasion they might impress these hardy spirits in favour of modera-The following proclamation was published with the intention of persuading the leaders to desist from strife:

> "EDINBURGH, 4th May, 1649.

#### PROCLAMATION AT THE MARKET CROSS

Whereas the Estates of Parliament upon consideration of the insolent practisses and rebellious attempts of Thomas Mackenzie of Pluscarden, and others his associates, did, by Act of Parliament, declare them and all such as should joyn with them guilty of the cryme of heigh treasone—and further, the Committee of Estates, out of their earnest desyre to preserve the peace of the kingdom and to reclaim these men from their wicked ways to their duty and obedience: and especially out of their clemency towards such as through information were insnared in their courses, did give power to Lieutenant-General David Lesley to make a general offer to all such as were in arms, of freedom to their persons and estates; they giving an assurance for their good behaviour in tyme coming: all which notwithstanding, James, Lord Ogilvy, Lord Reay, Lewis Gordon, sone of the late Marquis of Huntly, and John Middleton, sometime called General-Major Middleton, have risen in arms and joyned in open rebellion with the said Thomas Mackenzie of Pluscarden-It being provided that such as shall accept of this offer shall come to Lieutenant-General Lesley and give satisfaction betwixt this and the twentieth of this instant, in which case they shall be free. But the said declaration shall stand in full force against all such as after the twentieth day shall persist in rebellion or joyn with them."

While Lewis Gordon, Marquis of Huntly, availed himself of this offer and made his peace with the Estates, and it may be that others followed his example. Lord Ogilvy treated the proclamation with contempt, declaring that he would make no terms with the rigid Covenanters who had sold the King. He made no secret of his hostility to the Argyll faction, nor did he seek to avoid them. He went openly about the streets of Edinburgh, though he

had neither repented nor been pardoned. Yet, so changed were the times, no hand was raised against him. The Covenanters were by this time beginning to feel that they were not so firmly seated in the saddle as hitherto. Besides the fact that they were divided in counsel, there was now a general desire among all the three parties to find some common ground from which to approach the situation. There was a reasonable spirit abroad to come and go. In view of the overtures that were being made to Charles II. to accept the Crown of Scotland, the Estates of Parliament were willing to overlook a great deal.

But the ministers of the Church did not forget that Lord Ogilvy had a head on his shoulders to which he was not entitled. While the Parliament had been forced, on the strength of General Middleton's terms of surrender, to grant him a free pardon, the standard-bearers of the faith had promptly pronounced his excommunication. He was now a person outwith the pale of religion, a rebel thrice proclaimed, who had augmented his former enormities by this additional charge of "heigh treasone," for which he showed neither shame nor penitence. He must be brought to book, if not by the civil arm of the State, then by the laws of the Church. The General Assembly met on 7th July, 1649, and while they approved of the proceedings of the Commissioners who had interviewed Charles at the Hague, considerable irritation was excited from the fact that the King had not been sufficiently definite in respect to the Covenant, which indecision was attributed to the evil counsels of the malignants, and especially the exiled Marquis of Montrose. The consequence was that an Act was passed, ordaining that none should be admitted to the privileges of the Church, and of course to any share in the administration of government, till they had publicly confessed their sins, and subscribed a declaration that they heartily detested the part which they had acted; failing which they were to be excommunicated. A still more drastic discipline was reserved for those who had adhered to the Royalist movement; these, being viewed with peculiar antipathy,

were forbidden to be received into the fellowship of the Church without an express order from the General Assembly.

Citations to compear before the Commission of Assembly were spread broadcast throughout the country, commanding submission to the spiritual authority. Lord Ogilvy, who had returned to the Cortachy district, received a citation, but was suspicious of what might lie behind it. He was quite prepared to meet his spiritual Judges in open Assembly, but he did not forget that he still lay under the charge of "heigh treasone" over the Pluscarden rising, and he had to be careful lest, under the guise of a religious ordinance, he might not walk into a Covenanting trap. His relative, the Laird of Balfour, who was in Edinburgh overlooking the family interests, took such precautions as to ensure his safety, as the following document shows:

"The Estates of Parliament, on 9th July, 1649, taking into consideration the supplication given in to them be John Ogilvy of Balfour in name of James, Lord Ogilvy, shewing that the said Lord Ogilvy is laitlie cited be virtue of ane warrand, directed furth against him from the General Assembly presentlie convened at Edinburgh to appear personally before them for giving obedience and satisfaction to such propositions and injunctions as shall be laid to his charge by the brethern and members of the said Assembly; and in respect of divers and sundry civil business and particular actions in which the said James, Lord Ogilvy, is concerned, he cannot, without hazard to his person, proceed to Edinburgh for giving such obedience and satisfaction to the said Reverend Assembly as he maist willingly would, he hes given to him ane particular commission to supplicate the saidis Estates of Parliament in manner and to the effect. To Grant ane particular Warrand to him to pass and repass to and from the said Toune of Edinburgh without troubling, apprehension, Incarcerating, or Imprisoning of his person for whatever cause or debt. Quhilk, being taken into consideration be the saidis Estates of Parliament, They have given and grantit full power and warrand to the said James, Lord Ogilvy, to pass and repass to and from the Toune of Edinburgh without troubling or imprisonment of his person."

As Lord Ogilvy had on two occasions so narrowly escaped the embraces of "the Maiden," he was wise to

take precautionary measures to guard the safety of his person, especially as he was in no mood to adopt the attitude of a humble supplicant. He was a malignant, unashamed and unabashed. It was in no penitent spirit that he set out for Edinburgh to confront the spiritual powers. He had his defence carefully prepared in his wallet, and as he thoughtfully deposited the document in the family archives, it is now available for ascertaining his attitude. The charge on which he had been summoned to compear covered the whole period of his active hostility to the Covenant, and of being a party to the assertion of arbitrary power for Charles II. On being asked to subscribe a declaration to the effect that he was heartily penitent for such lawless acts, he boldly repudiated the insinuation of guilt:

"First, as conserning the engagement in warre against England does nothing conserne me, seeing I was not ane of yat armie, and did not subscryve yat bond having relatione yr unto Soe I sie no resune to induce me to subscryve ye said declaratione conserning yat particular, as I wil tak a gilt upon me

whereof I am altogedder frie.

Secondly, whereas I am urged by oath in ye said declaratione not to be accessorie in bringing ye King to ye exerceis of his Royall powar befor he shall have given satisfactione to ye publict desyres of yis Church and kingdome conserning religione and the league with England, itt is answered; seeing ye King is alreddie declared lawfull successor and air to his Royall father be opin proclamtione. Iff, thairfor, I sould seigne ye declaratione in ye point desyred, thatt wer equivalent as to obleish my selff by oath to thus declare opin warre against my Soverane now, whilas itt war a grit rashness and presumptione upon my pairte, being a privat person to predeterminat in a business of sick high consernment.

Thirdly, lykeways I desyr to know your reverentt judgements how farr ye wold wish all trew protestantts to dislyke ye said pretenders in England in wioletting yr pairte off ye said league, and as ye have manifested your deep displeasur for ye crewall murder off our Latte Soverane I desyrs to be resolved quhat forder ye think itt expedientt to resent yat barbarous murder.

Fourthly, conserning ye particular contained in ye said declaratione conserning ye adhering to our nationall and religious Covenant, itt is yer to answerit yat I wil constantly adhir unto ye same."

On the second day when he compeared before the Commission of Assembly, he was reminded of the fact that as the result of his open rebellion with the Marquis of Montrose his life was declared forfeit, and that he was a fugitive from justice. The ministers had failed to impress him on the former points of his delinquency; they now sought to bring the matter home to him in a more aggravated form. To this he replied:

"Upon my going to James Graham and being with him since ye Bataill of Kilsyth the subsumption is noe wayis relevant and the defender aught to be assoylyed, becaus ye Act of Parliament is to be understood when there is no necessity or probable clause upon ye point of those that takes up arms otherwayes att other tymes unlawfull. E.G. Be our law to pay blackmeall to Theeves is Capitall, and unlawfull to tak assurance or to gif them meatt or drinke, maintenance or supplie, be ye Act King James 6 and his Parliament; and yet when men ar redacted to ye extreme necessity of being takene by theeves or being in thair powar, swa yat they can not resist them, they must either condiscend to some of these deeds or to gif them moneys and supplies, or to endanger their lyves. Itt is undenyable in Law, and in ye opinion and judgement of all casuists yat they may lawfullie redeem themselves out of their hands."

The efforts of the Commission to bring him to "a laudable obedience" grievously failed. He remained

"Unmoved, unbroken, unseduced, unterrified, His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal, Nor numbers, nor example, with him wrought, To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind."

In despair of effecting a state of contrition, or exhorting him to make promise of a more obedient spirit towards Constitutional authority, the ministers referred his case to the Estates of Parliament. A Committee was appointed to meet and confer with him, and on a day in September, 1649, it was reported to the House of Parliament:

"The Committee tampered a quhyle with Lord Ogilvy, he being remitted by the General Assembly to them, bot could prewail nothing with him to conform himselve to the Act of

the General Assembly, so that they gave him the first day of November next, aither to give satisfactione, otherwayes thay assured him that then, and no longer, the Church would superseed the pronouncing sentence of excommunication against him for his contumacy and disobedience."

Excommunication was no new experience to Lord Ogilvy, and the threat of it did not incommode him in the least. By 1st November he was at Balloch House, impenitent as ever, and for the third time the sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him from the pulpit of St. Giles's. He spent the winter at home with Lady Helen Ogilvy and his family, but before the snows had disappeared the news reached him that the Marquis of Montrose was to make one more effort to bring Scotland into line with royal feeling. It was with the utmost difficulty that all the members of the family could dissuade him from joining in what proved to be a false and a fatal step.

If, in the spring of 1650, his activity and love of adventure were denied him, by the autumn he was in the thick of the strife again. When it became public property how Charles II. was being treated at Perth by the rigid Covenanters, and that he was known to be wincing under it, Lord Ogilvy entered into secret counsel with wellknown Royalist friends such as General Middleton, the Marquis of Huntly, and others, with the purpose of raising their forces in the north and Midlands of Scotland to rescue him from his intolerable situation. It has already been told how this agitation was conducted, and how it failed by the precipitate flight of Charles from Perth. It failed at the time, but the attempt was not abandoned. The forces had not been mustered, but the plan only awaited to be put in execution when an opportunity should offer itself. What might have been attempted, and when, was frustrated by the intervention of Charles, to whom the scheme had been disclosed during his brief visit to Cortachy Castle. A fortnight after his return to Perth from Clova, the yet uncrowned King, acting under prudent advice, wrote to Lord Ogilvy, commanding his presence at Perth for the purpose of an

interview. In obedience to the royal desire, he arrived at "the Fair City" on Friday, 25th October, 1650, and Balfour has put on record the purport of the visit:

"His Majestie having written for the Lord Ogilvy, this day he came to Perth and had a werie long discourse with the King in the sommer house on the watter, non bot my Lord Dunfermling being present, quher his Majestie shew him, that if they layed not downe presentlie arms, it wold both ruine him and them without recoverie. He had privatlie also a long discourse with the King on Saturday before he departed, privatelie in the garden."

As the result of this interview Lord Ogilvy laid down his arms and persuaded his friends to do likewise. sword, however, did not have a long rest, though longer than was agreeable to his wish. When Oliver Cromwell heard of the landing of Charles II. in Scotland and saw the possibilities it might have for the sister kingdom. he raised an army for the purpose of invading this country. The Convention of Estates, in reply, immediately assembled their forces. This was to be an army of saints. Only those who had the true ring of the Covenant were to be admitted to the ranks; and as half the population had the taint of malignancy, the choice was thus greatly circumscribed. The best fighting material had to stand aside, while any friend of the Marquis of Montrose was anathema to the Covenant. ministers of religion put their faith in "the sword of the Spirit" as an all-conquering weapon. The disastrous defeat at Dunbar was the consequence of this insane policy. But when matters took a more serious turn and Cromwell marched upon Edinburgh, Linlithgow, and Glasgow, the Covenanters were brought to a more reasonable frame of mind. The Act of Classes. in conformity to which the army had been selected which suffered so disastrously, was now being the subject of discussion, while the newly-crowned King bitterly complained that his best friends and most capable soldiers were, by the terms of this Act, disqualified from rendering him their loyal service. The matter was raised at

a meeting of the Estates, but it was felt that nothing could be done without the approbation of the Church, which had arrogated to itself the position of arbitrator of the national policy. Accordingly, the Moderator of the General Assembly was requested to call a meeting of the Commission, to be held at Perth, that the Church might give its advice on the matter. When the Commission met on 14th December, 1650, the Estates of Parliament submitted the following question for its solution:

"What persons are to be admitted to rise in arms, and to join with the forces of the kingdom; and in what capacity, for defence thereof, against the armies of the Sectaries, who, contrary to the Solemn League and Covenant treaties, have now most unjustly invaded, and are destroying the kingdom?"

The Commission, under stress of circumstances, were forced to make shipwreck of all their high-flown principles, and actually, though unconfessedly, to admit the justice of Lord Ogilvy's contention, fifteen months before, of the failure of the English Parliament to observe their obligations under the treaty. With the best grace they could muster, the ministers yielded the ground, while conserving their forms of discipline.

"In this case of so great and ardent necessity, we cannot be against the raising of all fencible persons in the land, and permitting them to fight against the enemy for defence of the kingdom; excepting such as are excommunicated, forfeited, notoriously profane, flagitious, or such as have been from the beginning, or continue still, and are at this time obstinate and professed enemies and opposers of the Covenant and the cause of God."

Lord Ogilvy clearly came under the ban of exception. He was an excommunicated person threefold, and at the moment, with General Middleton, he was still under the charge of "heigh treasone" over the Pluscarden rising. These facts now stood as a barrier against him at the time when Charles II. announced his purpose of raising an army to meet Oliver Cromwell's Parliamentary troops. There was one way open to him if he wished to be of service to the King: he must give satisfaction to

the Church. Could he bring himself to do this? He had resisted the spiritual powers all along, and there can be no question that did it only concern himself, his conduct, his attitude, his ideal, his sense of duty, he would act now as he had done hitherto. But the situation now was such that he had seriously to review his position and consider how he should act in the light of Two circumstances arose which compelled him to contemplate capitulation to the ecclesiastical authority. Six days after the meeting of the Commission of Assembly at Perth, on 20th December, 1650, the Estates of Parliament, "after much debate concerning the nomination of Colonels of Horse and Foot, condescended on the following list," in which the name of Lord Ogilvy appeared as "Colonel for a Horse Regiment, with the Laird of Dun as his Lieutenant-Colonel." The Estates having carried this measure of colonelcies in the army, now proposed to take a further step in the path of conciliation. The Parliament proposed to the Commission of Assembly that it was desirable to admit to the Convention of Estates such as had been excluded from it. provided that they first gave satisfaction to the Church for their offences. There was thus the double attraction. by yielding to the demands of the Church, of being in a position to render military service to His Majesty, and at the same time to serve his country by taking his place in Parliament. Though he hesitated for a while, Lord Ogilvy at length yielded to the force of circumstances. He would rather have the field than "the Cutty-stool"; would greatly prefer to charge a regiment of enemy horse in the excitement and exhilaration of battle to being the object of the commiseration of the congregation of the godly; rather a real fight than a feigned penitence; for it was against the grain of his nature to prostitute the forms of religion. But seeing no other way open to him to engage in active service for the King, he informed the Commission of Assembly of his willingness to submit himself to their sovereign will, and do repentance for his imputed sins "against the Covenant and the cause of God." But the sackcloth! this did not suit his taste quite so well as the doublet. As he was a parishioner of Alyth and subject to the discipline of its Kirk-Session, his case was referred by the Commission to the Presbytery of Meigle. But the sackcloth! he tried hard to avoid this habiliment of shame—the robe of the transgressor and the unclean person; the penitential garb of the fornicator and the adulterer. He appealed to the Commission of Assembly, giving reasons why he

"Might mak his publict reparation and satisfactioune without sackcloth, in ye same manner yat utheris hes done wha wes involvit in the lyk or grytter gilt. Itt may be instanced yat these quha wer knowne to be popish and disaffected to ye relilioune and quha conspyrit for ye destruction yerof, and conspyrit to bryng in ye Spainyiard, wes notwithstanding admittit to mak yr repentance in yr owne ordinair apparrell."

Lord Ogilvy had shown scant courtesy to the spiritual power ever since the birth of the Covenant. He had persistently refused to subscribe it, and had done all he could to undermine its authority. There was little hope that the ministers would make things easy for him now that he had surrendered to their prescribed order of discipline. In vain did he confess that

"he wes so far misled and masinformit yat he conceavit he wes dooing nocht aither aginst Church or State, or ye Laws or Acts off aither, though now he knows utherwayes wt unspeakable greiff."

He had to face the sackcloth. The Presbytery of Meigle, on the injunction of the Commission of Assembly, cited him to compear at Alyth, and the Kirk-Session records of this parish show that at Divine worship at noon on the 9th February, 1651, he compeared as a penitent:

"This day, my Lord Ogilvy declared his repentance before the Congregation, in the habit of sackcloth, in presence of Mr. George Pattullo, Minister of Newtyle; Mr. Robert Creighton, Minister of Eassie; and Mr. David Patton, Minister of Kettins; who were appointed to represent the Presbytery; and in sackcloth, confessed his sinful accession to Major-General Middleton's rebellion, and for his sinful miscarriage against the Covenant: and gave great evidence of his hearty grief for the same, to the full satisfaction of the whole congregation."

Though he wrote of his "unspeakable greiff" and "in sackcloth" confessed "his sinful miscarriage against the Covenant," it does not follow that he thereby admitted "the error of his ways," or looked back upon his campaign with the Marquis of Montrose as a blunder. The situation in which he found himself was simply this: unless he formally complied with the terms of the Church, he was debarred from being of service to the King; and as he had determined on serving Charles II. as faithfully as he had done his father, the end justified the means, though this implied the insincere use of the Church's form of discipline. Yet, to judge from the following letter addressed to the Moderator of the General Assembly, Lord Ogilvy had a sincere regard for religious ordinances and was fully persuaded of his duty to the spiritual institutions of the Christian faith. Apart from any controversial questions of ecclesiastical polity on which he might hold his own particular views concerning the externals of religion, he was serious enough in his respect for its essential elements, the due observance of which he recognised as incumbent upon him. He had satisfied the Church in humbly submitting himself to its rule of discipline; he was now desirous of participating in that token of its spiritual fellowship and Communion -the memorial of its Founder and Lord.

"For the Right Reverend Mayster Robert Douglas,
Minister at Edr
Moderator of the laste Generall Assemblie
Thease......

REVEREND SIR,

I am verie sensibil yat I am soe long withholden from renewing of the Covenant, and from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, since I gaive satisfactioun to ye Commissiouners of the visitatioun of Angus and Mearns in ye munth of Januar laste, and did subscrybe ye declaratioun thay putt me unto. Mayster Walter Greig and Mayster James Scharp promised to obtayne ane ordour for my receaving at Alyt in my owne congregatioun. I intreatt you ye tak ye paynes for purchassing ane ordour for

my receaving to ye ordinances of God, and to assist ye Laird of Balfour, my Cusine, for obtayning my desyre. In doing soe you sall oblidge me to continew yours in all dewtie to . . . you.

OGILYY.

SIR,

If my brother, Sir David Ogilvy be cited befor ye Generall Assemblie, lett him be remittit back to his owne Presbyterie of Forfar and I sall doe my endevoir yat he may satisfie according to the ordour of ye Church.

Ballo<sup>ch</sup>, 8 July, 1650."

The grievance of which Charles had complained, that those to whom he was most attached were, in consequence of having engaged in the war against England, excluded from his presence and disqualified from serving him, being now redressed, a large number of his friends joyfully enrolled themselves in the army which he had determined to raise to deal with the situation which the invasion of the country had occasioned. These former malignants were now permitted to have the freest access to the Court and to command under him. Before the Battle of Dunbar, he had only once been allowed to see the troops, but now matters were completely changed; he was installed as the head of the army. Lord Ogilvy held the rank of Colonel of a horse regiment. When Charles II. set out for Stirling, where he took up a strong position, he was in command of the cavalry. But when Cromwell, perceiving the difficulty of attacking under the circumstances, turned the position by crossing the Forth at Queensferry with the view of cutting off supplies, and taking possession of Perth, Charles decided to carry the war into England with his main army in the hope of raising the Royalists of the south, while a mobile force was to remain in Scotland to harass the enemy. Lord Ogilvy's regiment of horse was chosen as part of this force. Cromwell, on hearing that the Scottish army was marching towards England, left a body of his troops under General Monk to garrison Perth, and went south in pursuit of Charles. Lord Ogilvy was in his element.

He led a skirmishing party and attacked the Parliamentary troops when occasion offered. But while his master was gaining his "crowning mercy" at Worcester, General Monk was making rapid progress with the work of subjugating Scotland. On 14th August, 1651, he had taken Stirling, and a fortnight later he was engaged in storming Dundee. Along the Braes of Angus, Lord Ogilvy and a number of leading patriots who had succeeded in keeping the enemy at bay had called a meeting of the Convention of Estates, to be convened at Alyth on 28th August, 1651, to concert measures for dealing with the situation. The Committee were engaged discussing the posture of affairs, and were actually on the point of deciding their policy and procedure, when five hundred of Monk's cavalry, under the command of Colonel Aldrich, came upon them by surprise, and, surrounding the meeting-place, captured the Parliament-

"When Lord Ogilvy, with the Earl of Leven, the Earl of Crawford, the Earl Marischal, Sir Adam Hepburne of Humbie, Sir James Foulis of Colinton, and several others were taken prisoners, stript of all that they had and carried to Brughtie, and there shipped to England, first to Tynemouth Castle, and from there to the Tower of London."

Lord Ogilvy had his usual run of ill-luck. He was again a prisoner, while the lands of Balloch were confiscated. His business affairs, about which he was ever careless, had, occasioned by his long absence, suffered by neglect and were now confused and the funds depleted. Lady Helen Ogilvy, on the forfeiture, found herself in straitened circumstances. She had written to him to this effect, when he advised her to appeal to the Commissioners for redress, which she immediately did, with the result, as the following statement shows, that she was granted a measure of subsistence:

"Uppon consideratione had off ye petition off ye Ladie Helen Ogilvy, wife to ye Lord Ogilvy now under sequestration praying for maintenance, ye Commissoners for Confiscated and For-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Broughty-Ferry.

feited Estates ordered that shoe have ye allowance off a fifth pairt off what ye subcommissoners shall receive off ye rent off her said husband, ye Lord Ogilvyes Estate for this year, commencinge ye 25th March last past, and the subcommissoners in yat countrie are hereby required to allow her ye same accordinglie; provided the said fifth pairt dew to be allowed her as aforesaid exceeds nott foure hundred pounds starlinge."

In a letter dated "Tower of London, 8th May, 1652," Lord Ogilvy wrote to his wife:

### "DEARE HART,

Haveing a longeing desaier to heir from you and your childering and also to know how the Lady Drum is in halth, occationes this trubil qk is all I will say by this, haveing wreittin so particularlie to you formerlie bot yat I am youre affectionat and loveing husband.

OGILVY."

After a period of confinement he was allowed a certain amount of liberty, and was free to move about the City under a modified restraint. He took the opportunity when at large, on discovering a friend who was travelling to Scotland, to write to Lady Helen Ogilvy; the letter is dated "London, 14th June, 1654:

## "DEARE HART,

During the occatione of this bearer, I resolved to let you know yat I am in perfit halth, praised be God! and yat I am in some hop to gett off the sequestratiounes and hops to gett libertie to come home qk shall be ye ernest stodie of him qho is yours affectionat and loveing husband to serve you.

OGLLYY.''

Previous to this letter in which he states that he "hops to gett libertie to come home," the Earl of Airlie had written, urging him to procure, if possible, his freedom, as his affairs were much in need of his presence and attention. He neither got the desired release nor did he "gett off the sequestratiounes"; but it would not be for the want of trying to accomplish both. Lord Ogilvy held his uncle, Sir Patrick Hamilton of Little Preston, in high esteem, and was as likely to be influenced by him as by any of his friends, and the Earl of Airlie in July, 1654, requested Sir Patrick Hamilton to influence him

in the direction of using every means to recover his liberty.

"I have wrotten to my Lord Ogilvy that it is the earnest desir of all his freinds heir, yat he should (be a Petitione and Meditatione of his best friends at London) procur a libertie (upon beall) for some resonabil space of tyme to come to Scotland for satling his awin privat aiffairs, which can not be done wtout his awin presence, and thairfor it is our desir yat yee and my Lord Banff who is most in Edinbrogh wrott also to him for yat end; bot I believe my sone will tak als much notice of your letter as of any freinds he hes in Scotland."

Sir Patrick Hamilton responded to the Earl of Airlie's request and to the desired purpose, as the following letter from Lord Ogilvy shows:

#### "MUCH HONORED UNCLE:

According to your desire I have signed the enclosed paper wch yee shall receave upon some occatione or another. Wee who formerlie had the libertie of the City are agane committed Prisoners to ye Tower, but within tyme I hoip to have my freedome againe, for when ye reasone of our imprisonment be taken into consideration thay will find ther hes beene no ground for it. I sall truble you no further at this tyme, bot entreats these may present my Service to our friend and yat I am

# Your affectionat Nephew and Servant OGILVY."

The petition referred to in this letter, which was backed by all the influence of the Hamiltons, failed to procure his release. His imprisonment was tempered by an occasional license to visit the City at stated hours and intervals, but otherwise he was kept under strict guard. Nor did the Commissioners of the Commonwealth relax their hold upon his property. As time went on and matters became deeply involved, it was necessary that mandatory power should be secured in order to deal with his affairs. In 1629 Lord Banff, in terms of the marriage contract, resigned certain lands and fishings to the annual value of £626 10s. in favour of Lord Ogilvy as Lady Helen Ogilvy's dowry. It was now proposed, to relieve the situation which had been created by the burdens imposed on the forfeited property, to sell these

lands along the coast of Banff, and on 11th April, 1657, Lord Ogilvy, in the Tower of London, signed a mandate to this effect:

"Being this long tyme by past in England prisoner and as yet under restraint, so yat I can not convenutly goe about and manage my owin affairs, I heirby give power to James, Earl of Airlie and uthers yat my debtts may be defrayed, and convenient provision made for my selffe and my familie, to sell with or wthout reversion the lands of Tibbertie in Banff, Alvah, and uthers, with fishings."

Since 28th August, 1651, Lord Ogilvy had been a prisoner of the Commonwealth, and since January, 1652, had been, with occasional intervals of modified restraint in which he enjoyed a tolerable liberty to move about the City, confined to the Tower of London; but soon after the death of Cromwell in September, 1658, by the good office of General Monk, he was released. The motive for his liberation will be seen presently; but meantime, on his return to Scotland, he found the land, save for raiding bands of Highlanders who frequently descended from the mountains to harass the English garrison in the Midlands, lay quiet under the stern rule of the Commonwealth Commissioner. He learned that General Middleton, who had been deputed by Charles to attempt a Royalist rising, had failed, because the Highlanders would not trust him. But since then feeling had changed considerably. There was a strong desire to throw off the yoke that lay heavily upon the nation, or, at least, to alleviate the conditions. Within three months of his release Lord Ogilvy was at the head of a band of desperadoes who saw in England's trouble Scotland's opportunity. He organised raiding parties to intercept and harass the movements of the English troops, to cut off small parties or straggling soldiers, and this guerrilla warfare must have been on a fairly large scale and pursued relentlessly, as the following allusion suggests:

"A petition was presented to Parliament that the Commissioners might be excused from meeting at Perth as Lord Ogilvy and others had so ravaged the Shire, and that troops be sent to save it from ruin."

His long imprisonment had not damped his ardour in the least, but his action on this occasion was symptomatic of coming events. The fall of the Long Parliament signified a change in the administration of Scottish affairs, as indeed it forecast a revolution in the two kingdoms. General Monk, who for a considerable time had been courting the friendship, in the hope of gaining the support, of the pronounced Royalist section of the nation, and especially those who had been followers of the Marquis of Montrose, now took a step which foreshadowed the new régime. On 15th November, 1659, he summoned a meeting of representatives from the burghs and counties, which assembled in Edinburgh, and informing them that it was his immediate purpose to march into England with the intention of restoring the liberties of the three nations, he besought their co-operation to maintain public order during his absence. The persons whom he selected for this office were, for the most part, strenuous Royalists, and this sufficiently disclosed the object he had in view. Lord Ogilvy, "with other gentlemen of Angus," was granted a warrant

"To authorise them to secure the country from rebels and to keep a watch consisting of forty men to guard the Braes of the Highlands and the Mearns."

So far as Lord Ogilvy was concerned this commission was short-lived. It was too tame and prosaic for his enterprising spirit, especially as more exhilarating prospects were looming on the horizon. If he did not accompany the future Duke of Albemarle on his mission to help "the King come into his own again," he followed close upon his heels, as on that bright day of June, in the year of God 1660, he was present in the Metropolis to witness the Restoration of Charles II., to bid him welcome, and as a loyal and devoted subject to take the oath of allegiance to his rightful Sovereign. He was immediately given the command of a troop of horse, and shortly after was appointed Captain of the Guard. This was altogether to his liking. He was in the swim of life, and this suited his active, restless spirit. Charles,

mindful of what he had suffered in the royal cause, and as a mark of his appreciation of his loyalty and devotion, granted out of the Royal Bounty

"To James, Lord Ogilvy and Dame Helen Ogilvy, his wife, or the longest liver of them, with remainder to their son, David, Master of Ogilvy, of an annuity of £500 sterling."

Like most of Charles's benefactions, the pension was seldom paid. For three years Lord Ogilvy remained in England, during which time he was a veritable "Solicitor-General" for Scotland. People from all parts of the country wrote to him, beseeching his aid and influence with the King, to have their grievances redressed; proprietors, for compensation for the burdens inflicted during the Commonwealth; fathers, for posts for their sons in the army or Government service: of one kind or another, the letters addressed to him were voluminous, begging all manner of help. James Law, in a letter dated Edinburgh, 21st July, 1661, wrote:

"It is exceeding great satisfaction to me to heare yat yor Lordship is in good grace with his Maj<sup>tie</sup>. I shall wery heartley pray yat yor Lordship may fall on such honoble courses as may really tend to ye improvement therof for ye good and happiness of yor ancient and noble family. I creave you speake a remission for my poor wife passed, which had been promisit by his Maj<sup>tie</sup> while he was at Stirling, as there was no seale at yat tyme to gett it past by reason of ye grit trubles of ye tymes."

Thomas Lindsay, "sonne to Mr. John Lindsay sometyme Minister at the Church of Aberdeene," writes, asking him "to obtain for him the office of Maer before the Lords of Council and Session"—

"as I have the rycht to be cousine of yor Lordship's name for my Guiddame wes ane dochter of Inchmartin's house and having relatione to several of yor Lordship's name as being sisterchildren with David Ogilvy of Kinaltie and Balnaboth's wife, and my wyffe the Bishop of Glaisgow's dochter having the honour to be yor Lordship's kinswoman."

An old campaigner of the Civil War who gained nothing by it, now desired to have a post of some sort to save him from ennui; he writes from Netherwood, 27th May, 1662:

"I remember to have seen yor noble limbs as nimble as any others, but now since no angell came againe to stirre ye pool, it seemes you are turned lame and will lye bedlame there all my dayes, we'n by reasone of ye decay I find in yis little fabrick by all appearance cannot be many, iff I gett not out some way off yis too retyred lyffe."

John Allan wishes "to obtain his Majestie's hand to the signatur of being his Majestie's Cordiner," being careful to mention that he is "the son of Gilbert Allan in Lintrathen yor Lordship's serviter." Another wrote, saying, "If there be any chance of fighting under yor Lordship's command at yis tyme, lat me know, for I am burred in a grave of oblivion if thair occur nott som martial imployment yat my mortyfyed spirits be rewived." A fond mother, reminding him that "this familie was utter broke in his Majestie's service bypast," requests that he "should gett her son on ye Garde, or other service for a present lyvelehood"; while the Marchioness of Huntly, whose intimate acquaintance will be made shortly, writes from Elgin, 4th August, 1660:

"Tho this long tyme bypast I heve not had the happiness to see yor Lordship yit I am so weill acquentit with your nobill and kynd dispositioune towards your freinds yat I mak bold to desyr your Lordship to represent to his Majestie the low conditione yat ye familie of Huntlie is brocht to yis tyme bypast. I entreat yor Lordship's adwyce how to proseid in our affears which I will follow."

These are samples, though but a tithe, of the letters that reached him from all classes and conditions of people, soliciting his aid in redressing their grievances or alleviating their impaired fortune. Nor did they fall on a listless ear. He busied himself in helping to advance the interests of others to the neglect of his own. Urgent letters from home, informing him that he should return to attend to pressing business, went unheeded, while the petition of the friend or acquaintance gained

his immediate attention and support. But if he had been deaf to all entreaty to come north for his own particular affairs, a letter was delivered, early in the spring of 1664, at "Mrs. Huggin's House, Covent Garden," which had the immediate attention of the "affectionat and loveing husband." It was from his mother, informing him of the serious illness of Lady Helen Ogilvy. The brave little woman who had kindled in him the flame of vouthful love, who was the mother of his children, had been the stay of his manhood and the pride of his lovalty and courage, had prayerfully watched over him in danger and peril, had bearded the Marquis of Argyll at Airlie Castle and in the Parliament, and had risked everything at St. Andrews to save him from execution, was dangerously ill, and the knowledge that his "Deare Hart" was suffering changed everything. She was all in all to him. She had rejoiced in his loyalty and sacrifice, she had seconded him in his enterprise, she had laced his armour and buckled his sword for the fight. An Ogilvy, she had inherited the romantic strain of the race and was in hearty sympathy with his ideal. She had experienced troubled days and anxious nights. She had prayed, and wept, and rejoiced over him; she neither murmured nor repined. "Who can find a virtuous woman? for her price is far above rubies: her husband is known in the gate, and he sitteth among the elders of the land." The "Deare Hart" who loved and honoured him, in her pining sickness now longed for the comfort of his presence. The day the news reached him saw his departure from London. He did not linger by the way beyond what was necessary for rest and refreshment. In less than a week he was in the bosom of his family. Lady Helen Ogilvy died on a day early in July, 1664. The Earl of Crawford, his companion in arms and his fellow-prisoner in the Tolbooth and in the Tower of London, in a letter dated "Edinburgh, 21st July (1664)," wrote to Lord Ogilvv:

"Till within this two dayes I com heir I never know yat it had pleised God to remove youre Ladie, nor yat youre sonne wes gin up to you. For ye first, I sall say yat what is God's will

ye sould with a christian patience submit to, knowing he hes our lyves in his hands, and gives and taks as seimes good to him, and willes best for us in the end, if we truste in him."

By his marriage with Lady Helen Ogilvy there was a family of two sons and five daughters. None of them were in any way distinguished, or attained to those high altitudes of romance and chivalry which are associated with their great-parent:

- 1. James, who was born at Banff in 1633, and died there in infancy.
  - 2. David, Lord Ogilvy, who succeeded his father.
- 3. Anne, who was born at Banff in 1630, was married, with a tocher of 6,000 merks, to Sir John Wood of Bonnyton, near Montrose. Like many of the landed gentry, the burdens of the Commonwealth had borne severely upon the family, and they found themselves in straitened circumstances. Writing to her father, "Canongate, 6th February, 1666," she mentions that she "had a chyld a fortnight ago," and that "my husband is obscured lying under caption for certain sums yat he signed for his father, and is now within ye precincts of ye Abby for ye saftie of his person." The only way she could see out of the difficulty was to suggest that "my husband might be gott upon ye guaird."
- 4. Margaret, who was born at Airlie Castle in 1638, was twice married. In his letter of condolence, the Earl of Crawford, after sympathising with Lord Ogilvy on the death of his wife, goes on to say:
- "Now I sall tell you yat I believe my cusin, the Master of Halkerton hes ane inclination for youre doghter, Mrs. Margaret. Non does know much of his mind bot myselff, and he does not stand upon past conditiones, yet his father must in some measure satisfye. Ye know propositions of mariag is a tender businesse."

The proposition, however, "tender" as it was, succeeded; and in 1667 the now Lady Margaret Ogilvy was married to the Master of, and in a short time Lord, Halkerton. The only other allusion to her in the family

records is a letter to her brother, dated "Halkerton, 12th November, 1708," referring to the death of her son:

"I most submitt to ye will of God who is ye giver and disposer of lyfe. It is not possible for me to descryve to yor Lordship the conditione wherein I am, being depryved of him who I hoped should have been the staff and support of my old age."

Lady Halkerton is reported to have been married before 1696 to Patrick Lyall.

5. Marion, who was born at Kinblethmont shortly after the burning of Airlie Castle, in 1640, provides the romantic element of the family. She was married, in 1666, to James Elphinstone, only son of the first Lord Balmerinoch, who took the title, in 1607, of Lord Coupar, when he received a Charter of the temporal lordship of the Abbey of St. Mary. It was a strange alliance. Lord Coupar, it would seem, was not so old in mind as he was in years. He had, however, arrived at the age of eighty—

"When every man, the port approaching, ought To coil the ropes, and take the canvas in."

But he apparently thought otherwise, and notwithstanding his advanced age with his attendant infirmity, he did not consider himself "for ladies love unfit." Lady Marion Ogilvy was in her twenty-sixth year—a sprightly, graceful woman, of high spirit; nervous, excitable temperament; self-willed and very erratic. Against all advice and entreaty she entered into this strange union of "crabbed age and youth."

It was a disastrous marriage, no sooner made than it was regretted. But if it were disagreeable, it was not prolonged. She was of a mind, however, to make the most of it, and to compensate for her folly it is recorded of her that she prevailed upon her aged and weak-minded husband to execute a deed conveying his honours and estate to herself absolutely, and to anyone whom she should please to marry. Lord Coupar died shortly after

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Appendix II.

the deed was executed; the settlement was contested, and after a prolonged hearing, was set aside by the Court of Session, on 28th June, 1671, as evidence was given that he was on his deathbed when he signed the deed and was under compulsion. Lady Coupar's widowhood was brief, for three months after the death of her husband she was married, in 1669, to John Leslie, third Lord Lindores.

6. Helen, who was born at Balloch House, some time in the year 1648, was married, in 1686, to Sir John Gordon of Park. In her love-sick days, Lady Helen occasionally gave expression to her feelings in language of poetic mould. Either one of these literary efforts or lines expressive of her feeling at the time has survived. On the back of a receipt for "Meal and Malt" she thus recorded either the command she exercised over her wandering affection, or the evanescent character of the emotion:

"Sum tyme I wes a lover bi report,
And did as mich for love as utheris dou;
Bot, pres'd bi God! it wes in sich a sort
That I rewived within a our or two.
HELEN OGILVIE."

7. Elizabeth, who was also born at Balloch House, was baptised in the Parish Church of Alyth, March, 1650.

When Lord Ogilvy returned to Scotland in 1664, he found the country in a welter of religious persecution. Charles II., "forgetting nothing yet learning nothing," was not content with the moderate Episcopacy of his father, and caused the Rescissory Act to be passed, by which every semblance of Presbytery was destroyed and the attempt made to bring the Church of Scotland to the model of the sister establishment in England. This determination, which meant the doom of Presbytery, was equally imprudent and impolitic, as subsequent events proved, and it was received at the time with marked coldness by many ardent Royalists. At one stroke it annulled and rescinded every statute and ordinance which had been made since the commencement of the

Civil War; although in doing so it set aside many laws useful to the subject which had received the personal assent of the Sovereign. It was not only a breach of faith, but a violation of patriotic devotion which many, like the Earl of Crawford, who, on being consulted by the King, advised him to abandon his proposals and leave well alone; seeing that the polity which then obtained had been the result of compromise and was working smoothly. Other advice, however, to the contrary effect prevailed, and Charles II.'s reign is associated with one of the darkest periods of Scottish history—the persecution of the Covenanters.

Lord Ogilvy, as might be expected, from the first consistently opposed to the Covenant, whose ideal in Church and State was that of Episcopal orders and the royal prerogative, threw in his lot with the new régime. Although he was absent during the earlier administration of General Middleton, he lost no time in identifying himself with the movement to impose Episcopacy upon the nation. There was fighting abroad, and he must be in it. His advent on this field of controversy synchronised with the appointment, in succession to the Earl of Glencairn, of the Earl of Rothes as Chancellor, who, naturally humane, was averse from pursuing the cruel practices which had been in vogue and had alienated the sympathy of many of the nobles. As Lord Ogilvy, two months after his wife's death, had gone to Edinburgh as a member of the Commission, urgent calls were addressed to him to return. On 22nd December, 1664, a letter was sent "begging him to com home quhich wold be a great comfort and content to your Lordship's childering who is altogider caste down sins ther mother's death." If he responded to the call, the visit was a brief one, as he was in Edinburgh again in the spring of the year, in command of a troop of horse under General Sir Thomas Dalziel, and took part in the clash of arms at Rullion Green the following November. On account of his father's illness, and in response to a letter saving that if he wished to see him in life he should come at once, he left for home, where for a year he remained, and for the first time in his life the new Earl of Airlie gave close attention to business.

Besides the unrest occasioned in the homeland by the religious situation, the war with Holland had given rise to deep feelings of resentment on account of the stagnation of trade, as Holland had been the main outlet for Scottish exports. There was a great fear that many of the malcontents of the Presbyterian counties might join the Dutch, who had threatened an invasion of the coun-There is ground for believing that such action was in contemplation, and that the military authorities were apprehensive of it. It was owing to this fear that the Earl of Airlie, within a year of inheriting the title and estates, was called upon to return to the Colours. He was given command of a force and was stationed at Perth, when he received the following order from the Chancellor, the Earl of Rothes, dated "Edinburgh, last April, 1667":

"Ther is ane pairt of ye enimes fleit apeired upone ye Coast of Ffife. You are to march immediatlie efter ye sight of thes to ye Fferrie off Dundee, or to ony pairt wher ye can heave spediest passage ffor youre trupe, and least to ye place wher ye heir ye enemie is. Doe yis as ye will be anserable."

The Earl of Airlie and his "trupe" kept watch on the east coast for some months, and at the same time held in check the people of Fife, who were suspected of an inclination to join with the Dutch, if thereby they could support their trade and relieve the religious oppression. With what strangely mixed feelings he revisited St. Andrews. The Castle prison, which he described "as by far ye worst" he had known, would be of interest to him now that he could look back upon that winter-night scene of twenty-one years ago. still earlier days of St. Salvator's College, when with his cousin he coursed the links and rode far afield in the country, were lived over again. But much water had run under the bridge since then. The companions of his youth-where were they? Most of them were in that land which is curtained by the shadows, where there is no more sorrow, nor crying, no more death; and where,

instead of strife and rancorous feelings, there is rest, and peace, and everlasting love. The "Deare Hart." too, had joined "the great multitude which no man can number of every nation, and kindred, and people, and tongue"-an angel in the land of angels, where "they serve Him day and night in His temple." Her memory shall never fade—though, truth to tell, her place in his affections was now filled by another "Deare Hart" of whose "incomparabil werten and matchless sweetness," he had recently confessed to her, he was deeply sensible. He was even now anxious for leave that he might pay her a visit in the far north, as she had professed to be of doubtful mind. The thought of this troubled him, but it need not, as he might have known that a woman's doubts on such a subject are indicative of the most pronounced confirmation; or, as a brother peer wrote to him: "When a woman asks such questions the thing is as good as settled." But he was disappointed in not being granted leave. General Dalziel wrote to him "Canegait, the 17th August, 1667":

"MAY LORD,

My going to Ingland is deluyit for a daye, but youre letters sal be saif til youre forder orders.

T. DALZIEL."

Mary, Marchioness of Huntly, was the widow of Lewis, third Marquis of Huntly, who died in 1653. The daughter of Sir John Grant of Freuchie, on her mother's side she came of Ogilvy blood, her mother being a daughter of Walter, Lord Ogilvy of Deskford. In 1644 she was married to Lewis Gordon, an intimate friend of the Earl of Airlie. On the death of her husband, the Marchioness of Huntly retired to Elgin, where she lived a quiet and secluded life during the reign of the Commonwealth, with her son and three daughters. Elgin proved to be a convenient resting-place to the Earl of Airlie on his way to Banff when, on his succession in 1666, he paid a visit to his northern property; and as "grief still treads upon the heels of pleasure," he sought comfort for his bereaved heart in the delightful and



MARIE HUNTLY, COUNTESS OF AIRLIE. (From portrait by Sir Peter Lely at Cortachy Castle.)

serious-minded widow. The Airlie interests in Strathbegie were apparently much in need of his supervision, as he made a prolonged stay in the district. The fishings on the coast and the Deveron required his attention, for they gave him the opportunity of angling in other quarters. But just at the moment when his love-suit had taken shape, he had the misfortune to be called south for the service of the King, and as a loyal soldier he instantly obeyed. In a sense, and so far as this narrative is concerned, this was a stroke of luck as the love-story is available for the elucidation of a process which is of perennial interest to all sections of society. For, notwithstanding the march of civilisation and the lapse of centuries, the great facts and forces of Nature remain unchanged: the same mountain shadows on the same undulating valley; the same river-courses running to the same unstable sea; the same outline of firm land, and the same unalterable sky; the same stalwart sun shining by day, and the same pale moon ruling the night; the trees, the wild flowers, the grass of the field, the grain ripening for the harvest, the browsing cattle, and the birds wheeling overhead—all these are as they were in the olden days. Progress there may have been, but no material change. It is even so with the human family. Dress, manners, customs have changed; the amenities, pleasures, occupations, may have varied their character and employment; but the life-currents that ebb and flow in the human heart pulsate to the same great needs, the same warm passions, the same great loves and terrors. Love is as it ever was—the same old story.

The Earl of Airlie to the Marchioness of Huntly.

"I heir ther is a report in youre countrie yat ther dropt from my arme ane breslet of hair and ane ring and yat they wer youres. Trewlie, these stories sould not wex you, seeing ye know to weil I wes nott so hapie as to have had so grit a trust alowed me. I nether had at Aboyne nor no uther els any thing of yat natur of youre Ladieship or els any bodie uther alyfe or deid. When I cum to Banff I wiel make a stap to Elgin and sall be abel to justifie myselfe in yat end and in everie

thing els. I am mutch trubild at my response seeing it rether advertises than advises. Ye may be confident I wold absolutely despair and expect no parson not in ye way to interpon for him wha is Madam

Youre Ladieship's humble servant."

The Marchioness of Huntly to the Earl of Airlie.

"Elgin, 1st July, 1668.

My LORD,

Sinse yr Lordship says thatt you geve no ground for thatt fulish reportt thatt wes passing in relatione to thatt hair breslett wes so mutch takid off, I am satisfid; and befor I received yours I was still confident that yor Lordship is a person of so mutch honor and ingenouatie thatt no sick thinge could eskeap you. Whereas ye wreitt that you intend to cum to Banff and from thatt heir, I will not be so imperttinantt as to desyr yor Lordship nott to cum to Banff, since sum of youre affeirs lays ther, bot I most creve yourse pardone to besich yor Lordship nott to put your selff to ye trubill to cum to this pleace at presentt, for it vill bot mak a noys in ye countrie. Bot I belive my sonne, if he cum to Scotland in hest will cum north ethar in Agust or the munth efter, and thin, iff yor Lordship will be plesid to honor him with a weiseitt I shall nott be aginst itt. I am hartallie sorrie for my guid Lord Dundie on manie accompts bot chieflie becaus he wes yor Lordship's freind; for annie thing that hes relatione to yor Lordship is bellouitt be me att no small raitt, and I sall still taik itt as ane honor to be louktt on and esteimed as My Lord, youre Lordship's most humbill servantt

MARIE HUNTLYE.

Pardon this bloted pepar.

P.S.—Mr. Ogilbie, yor Lordship's servantt deluyverid me y'r letter, he is a werrie discreitt gentilman."

The Earl of Airlie to the Marchioness of Huntly.

"I receaved ye honor of on from youre Ladyship with ane pardone in ye frontispies and ane crewal command, or ether ane condemnatione in the middal of it alowing me ye freedome to cum to Banff and be tantalised ther, onlie having the favor alowed me to looke ower to Elgyn and yat be reson ye aprehend my coming forder wold mak a noyes in ye countrie. Trewlie, my dearest, if ye trubil yourselffe with noyses be reports yat

may passe, ye will never be quyit and thay will never give ower talking untill ye admitt my wisitts with les ceremonie."

## The Marchioness of Huntly to the Earl of Airlie.

"I doe nott understand why yor Lordship crews pardone for desyrving to know off my recoverie unles you esteim it a fact thatt sich siners as I sould pas with so small a penance, bot to let jisting alon, iff I could advance yor Lordship's satisfactioune in anie business whairin my selffe wes nott conserned I wold esteim my selffe oblidged to doe it for vor manie undeserved faveors; bot in annie thing of thatt natur yor Lordship most pardone me nott to say annie thing too it at this time, for I belive gryter consernments taiks you so upp thatt my long letter will be bot a trubill to you to reidd itt, veitt, I am afread you are taikin upp with so good cumppanie as my Lord Chancellor and with honorabill imployments from ve King and Councill. I hop yor Lordship knows how far it is from my thoughts to divertt you by cuming heir, not onlie from maters of sick momentt bott from youre smallest affears, which with all my hartt I wish to succeid weill.

P.S.—I am informit from London be letters dated the 7th. of this munth thatt ye Quien is thoughtt to be with chyld. I pray God it be trew. I wold nott have wreit this to yor Lordship if I did nott think thatt the news will pleis you weill."

# The Earl of Airlie to the Marchioness of Huntly.

"Madam, although you infinitlie oblidge me in youre last letter be youre nobil and freindlie expressions in yat pairt of letting jisting alon, and finding thes words following 'I could advans yor Lordship's satisfactione in anie busines whairin my selffe wes nott conserned I wold esteim my selffe oblidged to doe itt, bot in annie thing of thatt natour yor Lordship most pardone me nott to lay annie thing too itt.' Madam, at this words I turned blind and stupide for ane tyme being in a roume alon and nether resolutione nor eyes to reid any forder. begynyng to remember of youre incomparabil werten and matchless sweetness I resolved to goe on, and instantlie I fund thes excellent words which I have rereat in greit letters AT THIS TYME. Blessed be AT THIS TYME though a crewal depressing tyme. Pardon this roveing, for my fire-is-skars over as yit, and I will never be out of disorder, nor can all ye plesurs or satisfactions in ve worlde be off annie ouse to me untill I have yat assurans and onlie happyness. And give me libertie to assur you if I had not mett with this bitter yett sweet words I thinke my enimeis wold hav had thir wish and yor Ladieship sartanlie wold hav burred a trew and constant friend. My Deare Ladie Marques, seeing it stans this with me, mend it by youre fair hand, or els all ye comands of all ye worlde besids youre selff sall not keip me from having it personalie determinat and sertane taen. My Dearest, it is not a seiming desyr I have or had to know of youre good helth, for I assuer you I will simpathus with you and wishes it wer in my pouer aither to add to youre good helth or to lessen your seikness by weisting it to my selffe and som kind of pennance I intend to undergo untill I have the full assurans of your recoverie. Now give me live to creaf pardon for this illfaverly tedious letter and assur you I red yours with sufficientlie confused and kissed it offen I will add no forder but wishes I wer master of better pouers and far more accomplishments thin I most expect to atteine, quherly I might yit with more meritt set befor youre eves the constancie and faith off Madam

YOUR HUMBIL SERVANT.

P.S.—Madam, I am more nor sorrie to return you bad newes for your good. Ther is some report yat ye Quein hes miscarrit and ye Duchess of Monmouth's theigh wes dislocat at ye tope, but is putt in againe."

The Marchioness of Huntly to the Earl of Airlie.

#### "MY LORD.

I obediance to yor Lordship's desyr and my own dewtis I returnit ane answyer to your last letter, bot I am sorrie to fynd be thatt I resaved at this tyme the trubill it wes to you for I haid rether nott wreitten and fayled in pointe of civilitie then sayd anie thing to youre displeisur which I louk uppon as a peice off injustice. Yor Lordship seims to tak notice of this words (at this tyme) which we have sett doune in grit letters: bot belive me, iff ther be no other sens put uppon them then whatt I intendit, itt wes no greitt mater whither they hadd bein out or in, iff ye assuorence of my respects to yor Lordship can remove thatt distemper or fever ye complen off. you knew sinse ever I hadd the honor of youre acquentance how mutch I wes youre servantt, and iff to continow so can annie way advans youre contentmentt I sall so far as my conditione and youre resonabil commands can requyre. I thanke God and yor Lordship's good wishes, I am prettie weill recoveritt after sum rest att home, and hops so sall you whan ye have doon ye lyk so far as youre important affears will permitt. I can nott

chuse bot concurre yith yor Lordship in wishing youre advancmentt in powar and perspectione, and acknowlaidge youre faver in desyring itt uppon ye accompt off My Lord.

Youre Lordship's most humbill servant.

P.S.—I am mor grivid then I can express for thatt misfortun of our Gratius Quien and glaid thatt the Dutchis of Monmoth is in ye way of recoverie, Pardon this bloted pepar. Now, my Lord, give me live to tell yor Lordship that I am both mutch trubild and ashemed whan everie ane says to me thatt my Ladie youre mother hes left youre hous on my accompt, for itt is far from my thoughtt ever to doe yor Lordship so mutch prejudice to depreyre you of the cumpanie of so nobill and good a mother as shie hes bein to you."

The Marchioness of Huntly had some ground for believing that "my Ladie youre mother" was far from pleased with the proposed marriage. The Countess of Airlie had a mind of her own, and was not given to keeping her counsel when she was in the mood to declare it: nor did she use language for the purpose of concealing her thoughts. What opinions she entertained usually found expression in clear, pointed, and vigorous language. Since the death of the late Earl, of whom the whole family stood in awe, and by whom they were kept under strict discipline, the Countess of Airlie continued to live at Cortachy and dispense the hospitalities of the Castle, and, from all accounts, exercised the same rigorous supervision of her sons' conduct as hitherto had been the It seems from the following letter that she took occasion to administer a general chastisement, at least in effective language, for certain defaults of which she considered them chargeable; and after telling the Earl of Airlie that he should "encourage his son in sobriety by his own example," and "as for your brother's affears, he has falin on evil tymes for making him the better of me," she came to the principal matter of which she had set out to unburden her mind:

"Itt is reported yat you intend to marie my Ladie Huntlie. Itt seims streng to me yat anie thing in eirth could indous you to mach with on of ane contrie religione, and trewlie I thinke nether beautie, nor honor, nor richis, nor no qualificatione

under heavein sould do itt. I pray God mak you circumspect in youre wayes. You hav had ane crost conditione in ye worlde, but this wil putt on ye capstin. You wold luk to your selffe not as ane singel person, bot as ye heid of menie quha allthough the Lord in yis ege hes not maid thir worldie conditione werrie prosperus, yet thir number is not few; and itt is not unknowin to you yat youre fimilie and frindis being blinded wes for ye maist pert so, bot now, altho thir be mutch athism in ye tyme we lieve in, yet thar is sum quha is nott so."

The Countess of Airlie's opposition to the projected union looked like creating an insurmountable obstacle, as Lady Huntly had stipulated that before she would consent she must have his mother's approbation.

"Bot I am affrayed since I have hard nothing of hir thoughts that hir Ladyship is not so weill plesid as I wish which is no small trubill to me, for I haid rethar have hir blissing to that actione nor a thousande ither advantaidges. Rethar than injur youre interestis—I haid rethar never bein born."

Matters had reached a crisis. The Earl of Airlie knew the temper of his mother's mind, and that she would not readily yield her consent. It looked as if the prize would escape him, and he was greatly upset. The Countess of Airlie was a staunch Protestant, as became a member of the House of Hamilton, and it may be taken as certain that her chief and irreconcilable objection was on religious grounds. The situation required thoughtful consideration, and, on the Earl of Airlie's part, the summoning of his courage to face his mother's opposition, which was a formidable barrier; and apparently he had taken time, like a good soldier, to reconnoitre the ground, with the result that the lady became alarmed by his silence and wrote him again, sending him a charm to protect him from infectious troubles.

The Marchioness of Huntly to the Earl of Airlie.

"I will never be at quyatt till I know how yor Lordship is in helth. I mak bold be this to present my humbill service to my Ladie youre mother. Itt wold be a greitt satisfactione to me to have hir Ladieship's appropatione to yor Lordship's desyres. My Lord, thinking that to you have sum fancie to this

littell ring, I have presumed to send itt to yor Lordship. He whum itt representis keepes you in his protectioune from all dengars."

The Earl of Airlie to the Marchioness of Huntly.

"Youre littell box hes served me to werrie guid purpose, when I wes by sum freinds wha haid the spottitt fever. Madam, I have putt on ane resolutione with God's assistans before ye end of July to sie you wher ye sall aither alowe me to lyve, love, and serve you, or I sall cartanlie dye at youre feat, wha is Madam,

YOURE LADIESHIP'S AFFLICTIT HUMBILL SERVANT."

The Marchioness of Huntly to the Earl of Airlie.

"My Lord, In the meantyme I maist ernestlie beig of you if ye doe nott desayr to tormentt me nott to ouse sich exprestiones as in ye letter I gott just now. Lett it be in jestt or ernestt thatt ye speik thus, I assouer yor Lordship itt goes neirer my hartt as I can show aither by word or wreitt, and itt may be iff ye doe nott by youre nixt give me assourans thatt ye ar ganiall and in good helth, the effects will shew thatt I am nott off so strong a temppar to carie sick ane heavie cros and burdine without falling under itt.

P.S.—Pardone me for I belive ther is much nonsens in my letter."

The Earl of Airlie to the Marchioness of Huntly.

"MY DIREST,

The assuranes you give me of ye continuans of youre friendshipe is to me above all ye blissings this world can afford, excepting ane which is yat degree of freendshipe I have so often and so ernestlie supplicat, for belive me ther is nothing besyds that can mak me for ever happie. I am hopfull yat ye justice of my caus and youre owen goodness will be solicitors for me, sieing ther is nothing yat I pretendit to bot yat which youre conditione may alowe. The delay in my answering youre letter was becaus I haid resolvit to send itt by this boy wha sayes that youre Ladieship once seved his lyffe. Pray you seve his lyffe yat can not lyve without having a doon richt assourans from your dier selffe which I doe expect from youre goodness and nobillness, sieing yat ane estimabill blissing depends onlie and absolutlie upon ye best of weamin."

The Marchioness of Huntly to the Earl of Airlie.

### "MY LORD,

Their is yeitt on way thatt will mak me obay you in accepting off ye honor you propos imidiatlie efter I hav ye happines to sie yo<sup>r</sup> Lordship which is, thatt you dalay youre cuming to this place for sich a considerabill tyme as may procur the consent and approbatioun of this in whum yo<sup>r</sup> Lordship and I is neirest conserned, I mein, my Ladie yo<sup>r</sup> Mother and my owen sonne; for I belive my Lord Ogilvie is satisfid sinse you told me so. . . . I am mutch trubilid as everie person is crying out thatt my Ladie youre mother hes sich grytt avershion aginst the honor you doe me."

This was how matters stood when the Earl of Airlie, who was still on military duty in Fife, was granted leave. He was practically assured of the success of his suit provided his mother approved and the Marquis of Huntly acquiesced. It is a pity that no record exists of the interview at Cortachy Castle between the Countess of Airlie and her son. It would be spicy and piquant. He would be compelled to listen to some plain homely truths, as she was not only a person of robust character, but had great facility in the use of forcible and pointed language, and he would not be left in doubt what her mind was on the projected marriage. But as the Earl of Airlie was not behind his mother in vigorous character, the contest would by no means be one-sided. Besides, in addition to his dogged persistency of purpose, he had a great fund of good-nature and was endowed with a rollicking humour, ready wit, and clever repartee. The confabulation, however, ended as it was bound to end when the decision reposed in the warm cloister of a mother's heart; since, like the kingdom of heaven of which it is an emblem, it "suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force." Lady Airlie might stand erect behind her defences for a time; might-yea, certainly would—exchange a wordy artillery; but when it came to close quarters with her son's happiness or his miserable disappointment, then her surrender was inevitable.

The Marchioness of Huntly to the Earl of Airlie.

"Elgin, 11th September, 1668.

I will onlie show be this thatt I am much joyd thatt my Ladie youre mother is satisfied so thatt iff my sonne's thoughts wer knowin to me and thatt they wer annie thing condishending to my inclynatiouns I sould nott depryve myselff longe of ye honor and happyness yor Lordship is plesid to proffer me."

The issue had now been narrowed down to the single point of having the approbation of Lady Huntly's son. It will be seen how the land lay in this quarter:

The Earl of Airlie to the Marquis of Huntly.

"My LORD,

As ther is non of youre Lordship's relationes and freindis, and particularlie myselff bot doe hartilie congratulat yor Lordship's gratious acceptans from youre Prince, so ther is non of us bot doe serouslie regrate the los we ar lyk to sustein in being depryved of yor Lordship's companie in youre unexpectit journay to France. My Lord, I hev been off a long tyme in expectatioun to sie yor Lordship about yis tyme in Scotland, which hitherto hath savit yor Lordship from a trubil which now of necessitie I am forcit to give you at a distance. The grit esteim and real respect I owe to my Ladie, youre mother, hir person and werteus hath engadged me to so gritt a passion for hir yat nothing can divirt itt, and since I doe daylie meet with dificultis therin I doe ernestlie begg for yor Lordship's assistans to mediat with hir, (tho at so gritt a distans) in my behalf. Yor Lordship's concurrans in vis will confirme me in the reall desyr I hev always had to improv my best service to ye advantag of yor Lordship and youre familie, and mak me longe for ane opportunitie to evidans to yor Lordship how reallie I am. My Lord

Youre Lordship's most Faithful and humbill servant.

The Marquis of Huntly to the Earl of Airlie.

"PARIS, 24th September, 1668.

My Lord,

I thinke myselff werrie much oblidged to be youre Lordship's humbil servantt and serve you in all things layes in my

powar which I will in all things except in this youre Lordship asks of me in youre letter, which I am sorrie I cannot doe so frilie as I wold annie uther thing concernes you; bot I am confidant whan yor Lordship considers how much duitie I owe my mother and howe far the obeaying of yor Lordship wold be to the contrar ye will excus me."

## The Marquis of Huntly to his Mother.

"I have recaved a letter from Lord Airlie which much surprises me. I think it mor my dewtie to receave youre advyce and comands for ye disposyng of my selffe as to presume to desayre you to dispose of youre owen person which is the on I maist love in ye woarld. Whairfor, by prudent persons it might be rather thought that youre Ladieship sould be rather making such a bargain for me as that I sould presume to doe it for you which I think mor proper for youre Ladieship."

The refusal of the Marquis of Huntly to give his approbation, after all the difficulties had been surmounted, was disappointing. It delayed, but it did not hinder the proposed union going forward. Matters had reached a point not only in the negotiations but in public talk, from which there was no going back. In a month the marriage contract was signed—31st October, 1668. The Earl of Airlie wanted the marriage in November, against which month Lady Huntly had a prejudice, but to judge from her letter this was subject to convenience.

"When notwithstanding annie scrupill I have concerning that munth if yor Lordship be nott plesid to suspend till Janwar the business you spak off at pairting I sall in November obay annie cumands you will be plesid to lay on me."

"Ah me! for aught that ever I could read, Could ever hear, by tale or history, The course of true love never did run smooth."

Fresh difficulties, as unexpected as they were formidable, supervened to complicate still further the tangled skein of the Earl of Airlie's love affairs. The Marchioness of Huntly, shortly after her husband's death, had been excommunicated on her adopting the Roman Catholic religion, and now the Church refused the proclamation of banns. Here was another long-drawn

battle to fight against the spiritual power, and as anyone who knows the history of the period will understand. the persecution of Roman Catholics at this time was very severe, and especially a Catholic who had lapsed from Protestant surroundings was hardly dealt with: Lady Huntly could expect neither sympathy nor consideration. But the Earl of Airlie, who had overcome many difficulties in his career, was not likely to acknowledge defeat at this juncture, even though the lady had augmented the trouble by refusing to be married in a Protestant church, and suggesting a "private ceremonie in my owen Chalmer." He interviewed the Bishop of Moray, only to learn that he supported the action of the local clergy; whereas the Bishop of Brechin saw no reason why the banns should not be proclaimed at Cortachy, but naïvely added that he must respect the views of a brother-Bishop. After being driven from pillar to post in true ecclesiastical fashion, the Earl of Airlie wrote to the Archbishop of St. Andrews.

> "ELGIN, 10th December, 1668.

As I know youre Grace doe nowayes doubt my constansie in yat religione wharin I wes baptised and of my affectioune to ye Government of yis Church, so I thinke youre Grace will be ye mor condisending yat my Ladie Huntly is at all content to match with a persone of my professioune, and to grant a lyne to my Lord Bishop of Murray for hir relaxatione."

The Archbishop of St. Andrews to the Earl of Airlie.

"St. Andrews, 1st January, 1669.

My Lord:

Your motion and desire for the relaxation of that noble Ladie is pious and honourable, and werrie suitable and becoming to that noble constancy in affection and great regard which you are known to have to the reformed religion and constitution and interests of this Church. I have given my opinion to the Bishop of Moray yat upon the inducements mentioned by his letters to me he may give order for solemnizing the marriage of yor Lordship with my Ladye Marquess of Huntley with the prayers and blessing of your mother church by a ministre you. II

before the congregation mett publickly for that purpose, and that without proclamation preceding of your banns and I am werrie hopefull of youre Lordship having thus laudably begun, will not sease to imploy youre best endeavour and interest with that noble Ladye, yat the meanes usit for her recovering and return to the bosom and comunion of this Church may by God's blessing prove so successful as yat thereby a clear and inoffensive way may be made for a full and honourable absolution, which will redound to yor Lordship's great comfort and imortall honure, and my Ladye's everlasting happiness. That you may be attendit with all mercy and blissings is the prayre of My Lord,

Your Lordships most humble and most obedient Servant, St. Andrews.

I begg leave to tender my most humble duty and service to my Lady Marquess."

So far this was favourable, but the trouble was not over. The Bishop of Moray was obstinate. He made demands and imposed conditions which had to be met and complied with, and recorded in proper legal form, and sworn to, before he would give the necessary authority to celebrate the marriage.

# "TICKET FOR MY LORD AIRLIE TO YE BISHOP OF MORAY.

Seeing it haith plesid Divine providence to desyne oure matching with ye most honorabil Madame, the Ladye Marquess of Huntly, we doe ernestlie request ye Bishop of Murray within whose diocess the saids most nobil Ladye does live to caus relax hir from ye dreadfull sentens of excommunication under which she lives, and yat in consideratioun of hir owin serious desyr to yat effect and off our sincere affectiouns to ye trew protestant religione presentlie professit, and ye Government establishit in ye Church of Scotland, and ye honor we have to be ane of his Majestie's Privie Counsel whairby oure mariage may be solemnized without stumbling to anie and we may convers with gritter confidens for God's blessing: and wee doe promiss and obleidge oure selffs under the pane of two thousand pounds of Scots money yat wee sall not receave anie priest to remaine within our familie to oure best knowledge, nor countenans the saving of Mass at anie tyme nor alow anie superstitious popish rites to be sett up in oure familie bot sall endevor to bryng the foresaid most nobill Ladye to conforme to ye professione of ye ye faith of ye Church of Scotland. In verification of all this

promisses we have subscribit thir pointts at Bog of Gicht 4 Days of Aprill, J M VI and sixtie nyne veirs befor these witnesses ATRLIE.

Mr ROBERT TODD, Minister at Urguhart. Mr Samuel Tulloch, Minister at Spynie. Mr John Chalmer, Minister at Gartlie.

consenting also to ye registration hereof."

At length, in June, 1669, by an order of the Archbishop of St. Andrews the banns were proclaimed in the Parish Church of Elgin, and the marriage was celebrated privately "in the chamber of the Ladve Marquess of Huntley."

Six months after his marriage his "convers with gritter confidens" was interrupted by the Earl of Airlie being called into the field of action, in which for the next ten years he was engaged in what Presbyterian Scotland looks back upon as its bitterest experience and perhaps the darkest period of its chequered history. The Rescissory Act restored Episcopacy, and of course this was agreeable to the mind of his lordship, as it was to the tradition of his family. But other and more aggravating measures were on the point of being enacted which met his approval, as they had always been elements in his ideal of sovereignty. Earl of Lauderdale had summoned a meeting of the Estates of Parliament to be held at Edinburgh towards the end of October, 1669. When the Assembly met, the Earl of Airlie was conspicuous by his absence, and this was remarked upon, as the business on hand was of great importance, and of a nature that was likely to gain his support. A letter from his nephew, Adam Urguhart, dated "Edinburgh, 8th November 1669" informs him that he was

"summoned be ye Privle Council to com over to attend to ye King's service and to com with all possibil haist which is ye desyr of all youre freinds, particularlie General Dalziel who hes of lait gott so ampil and absolut a commission vat he may dispos of ye armie as he pleiseth, and youre Lordship may be assurit he is youre freind."

If ever slow in his own affairs, he was never tardy when the call was to the King's service. A few weeks before, he had taken up his residence at Cortachy Castle with the intention of remaining there for a time; but this call to "ye King's service" was more than he could resist. He instantly obeyed, and when he parted from his Countess of "incomparabil werten and matchless sweetness," he would little think that ten years should pass before he was again privileged to know the quiet and comfort of his domestic hearth.

For the benefit of those who may not be conversant with the ecclesiastical politics of the time, it may be desirable to take a brief retrospective glance of the motions that preceded the situation which now falls to be dealt with. On the passing of the Rescissory Act, the Privy Council, which met at Glasgow on 1st October, 1662, enacted that all Ministers who did not comply with the law should forfeit their livings, be interdicted from preaching, and were charged to remove from their parishes before 1st November following the date of the order. It is recorded that three hundred ministers, chiefly in the west and south of Scotland, turned their backs upon their manses, and of these the majority were the youngest and most zealous servants of the Church. Throughout the Midlands and North of Scotland, however, the clerical mind was more elastic, or, it may be, resembled "the Vicar of Bray" in his supreme indifference to questions of high policy. In the great majority of cases the ministers, though they left their manses, remained in their parishes and held religious services, or what were called "conventicles," or "field-preachings." Severe measures were taken to exterminate such acts of nonconformity, and much persecution, imprisonment, and slaughter had taken place during the seven years that followed, though to little purpose and with little effect. The time had arrived when it was thought that a milder and more conciliatory course might attain the end in view. On the suggestion of the Earl of Tweeddale, a proposal was adopted to grant an indulgence to some of the most moderate of the outed

ministers, in consequence of which they might exercise their functions in the parishes that might be assigned to them. The Bishops rose in opposition to this spirit of toleration on the plea that it undermined the foundation of Episcopacy; but their alarm was chiefly owing to the fact that the Church had not been consulted, and that the indulgence was an arbitrary dictation of the King. It was even so, and in this was prophetic of what was soon to follow. At the meeting of the Estates of Parliament at which the Earl of Lauderdale presided as the King's Commissioner, the ecclesiastical object in view professedly was to give such an explanation of the power inherent in the Crown as would justify the act of indulgence and put the Bishops in such subjection to the King as would prevent them from thwarting the measures of his Government. While professing great attachment to the Church as presently established and paying homage to its authority within its own domain, by a strange contradiction of terms, he proceeded to claim for Charles II. that autocratic power to grasp which had cost his royal father his head. James VI. had long ettled after, and Charles I. had kept before him as his ideal, Charles II., while the divided interests of the nation were on the wing, asserted and proceeded to act upon the strength of it. It was a daring step, opportunely taken, and to make it successful was speedily and vigorously enforced. The Assertory Act, as it was said, made Charles both King and Pope, declaring "that his Majesty hath the supreme authority and supremacy over all persons, and in all causes ecclesiastical within the kingdom."

Now, bearing in mind his ideal of Church polity and statutory authority, there could be no doubt of the attitude of the Earl of Airlie on the subject that now emerged. All along he had contended for Episcopal orders and the royal prerogative. In support of these two principles he had waged unceasing warfare to the risk of life and property. Now that he saw them realised, he was not likely to be lukewarm in their defence. If he took up arms on this occasion, it was

because it was consistent with his ideal, and he was sensible that for him it was in the line of duty. For the next ten years he was on active service, as the effect of the Assertory Act was to multiply conventicles and rouse the country into a state of nonconformity, while vast numbers of the Covenanters had resort to arms and determined to defend themselves by force. General Sir Thomas Dalziel was promoted to the supreme command of the army, he formed three main bodies of troops, of which the Captains were the Earl of Airlie, the Earl of Home, and John Graham of Claverhouse. The last-named has entered into history as "the Bloody Clavers," because of his unmerciful treatment of the Covenanters. It redounds to Lord Airlie's credit that his milder pursuit of the rebels was such as to escape the infamy of his companion in arms. First stationed in Renfrewshire, he went to Ayr, and later was over two years in Galloway. A number of letters and reports bear upon this period, in all of which there is a singular absence of rancorous feeling, reflective of the fact that he conducted this campaign as far as possible in the spirit of humanity. Of fines, he exacted many; of prisoners, he took not a few; but of slaughter, he was careful to avoid it if at all possible. General Dalziel, whose headquarters were at Glasgow, kept in close touch with him throughout the campaign, and many of his letters to him are in existence, a few of which may be given:

- "Captaine Inglishe will be with youe this night who will be assistante to youe. I am glade to heir that all goes weill with youe, and houpes a merrie meeting efter youre pairtinge."
- "I wonder that I did not heir from youe imediatlie as youe haid that false alarme which I houp will be mendit in tymes to cum. My Lord Hoome, his affeirs be of that momente as my Lord Rose informs me. I am content that he have ane furlohe of ane fortnight's tyme."
- "Just now I heird from Captain Strachan that Cameron is past bay sancher with 20 horse and, as he thinks, is gon to the uther pairt of Clidesdaile on which I despatchit to thois two trupes of Dragoons to pushon where ever they go. This I

thought good to shois youe that youe may communikat it with my Lord Linlithgow. He shois me lykewayis that Erliston is stayit at home sik whom is aprehendit youe may find it weill seirchit for."

- "I had sent orders to Captain Strachan to quarter in the maist convenient stations betwixt Ayr and Cumnoke wher youre Lordship being arrived, I houpe youe will dispers theis sculkinge roges that trubilles ye countrie."
- "I am glaide to heir youre pairtie hes retourned and houpes yure Lordship will be carefull to inquear efter this wounded men, for some of thame seimes to be recepte neir youre quarters."
- "I have examined the prisoner and cane learne noe mor of him then what he confessit to youre Lordship. I thought not his cryme wirth the trubil of his imprisonment and soe hes dismissit him. I cannot but comend highlie youre Lordship's diligence."
- "I am sorrie that youre Lordship who is alwayse haid the King's service in soe hy esteim sould att sik an tyme be absent and that not onlie for youre awine persone bot mor then the halfe of ye trupe with youre Lieutenante is absente, yea contrair to expresse cumande. Youre Lordship may thinke that I doe not expostulat without tuo gritt caus. My Lord, youre former deserte maks me subscrive my selffe youre Lordship's humbil servant."

By this time, 1680, the Earl of Airlie's "esteim" for "the King's service" had cooled considerably. He had served Charles II. faithfully and long, and had received nothing in return. His pension of £500 had not been paid for years. The petitions he had addressed to His Majesty for redress of the burdens which the family loyalty had entailed went unanswered. The fact, too, that his own affairs stood much in need of his presence—as he had been frequently reminded, and now with a degree of urgency—made him reconsider his immediate duty. The following letter from George Ogilvy, factor on the Airlie estates, shows how much need there was for him to attend to his business:

"It wer werrie concerning to ye advantaidge of yor Lordships's affeirs, yat Sir David wer settlit in a pension with yor

Lordship, and then I might at anie tyme with freedome goe to him in all yor Lordship's concerns wher now maitters ar neglectit."

The Earl of Airlie, however, returned to Cortachy sooner than he either expected or desired. He had not only become lukewarm in what was little more than police duty, but had apparently become lax in the pursuit of rebels or too lenient in the measures he adopted. On the ground of his age, he was superseded in his command, and this he took far from kindly, even resented the idea that he was not equal, at the age of seventy, to the fatigue of the campaign. In a letter to General Dalziel he wrote:

"I receaved youres and sould be glaid to know from you what mor easie and honorabill imployment is intendit for me; for I neiver studit eas wher my Maister's service callit for my attendans, and believe all ye trupes both of hors and dragoons will witness yat while they wer under my comand; and I thank God I can endoore as mich hardship as ever; bot what may be my freinds oppinion this shean of my lyffe and seas to wreitt off it, neather will I urgument it with them, for probablie they know mor thin I doe."

On the retired list at seventy—the like was never heard! He felt as youthful, as agile, as alert as ever. He could scour the country with the best of them. As nimble of foot and as lithe of muscle as a Lieutenant, he could vault into his saddle, gallop the fields and clear the ditches with the hardiest dragoon in the regiment, and could "endoore as mich hardship as ever." In the deft handling of the sword, or the skilled use of the rapier, he could teach the most dexterous a lesson, while with the musket in hot pursuit he was a noted marksman. Like the aged leader of the ancient people, "his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated." He was a soldier and loved the exhilaration of the field of action. The whoop of battle was the music of his life. The King's service was the joy and crown of his existence. What were broad acres and baronial mansions compared to the glorious risks, adventures and chivalry of war! He was at home in the camp; in his element when leading his men to charge down upon the enemy. This suited his restless, enterprising nature, his bold and daring spirit, and he could only contemplate as tame and spiritless such prosaic employment as the supervision of sheep and cattle, farm buildings and drainage, rents and mortgages. Besides, his pride was offended, his honour besmirched. This he could not endure. He appealed to the King, who, after inquiring into the facts of the case, gave orders that he should be reinstated in his command. But although General Sir Thomas Dalziel made ample apology, he would not consent to serve under him again. In 1682 the Marquis of Huntly wrote to him:

"The King loses enuff in wanting you for a comander to his forces; it wold be too much iff he sould lose you in everrie thing els. It is nott ye first tryall yor Lordship has been exposed too in his Majestie's affears."

He had apparently unburdened his mind to his stepson, and the letter shows the direction of his mind. He had for some time been lukewarm in his attachment to Charles II., who had treated him, as he did most of those who served him, with ingratitude and neglect. His great and loval service had gone unrewarded, while the King's promises had never been fulfilled. He had not only spent his life but had squandered his fortune to promote the interests and establish the authority of the Sovereign, and Charles was heedless and indifferent, and, as has been said of him, "cared little what became of his friends or enemies, providing he could maintain himself on the throne, get money to supply the expenses of a luxurious and dissolute Court, and enjoy a life of easy and dishonourable pleasure." The Earl of Airlie had found to his cost that His Majesty's word could not be relied on, and the following petition amply proves the temper of mind in which it was written:

"I beg to reminde your Majestie yat youre orders to ye Earl of Rothes and to ye Treasurie Commissioners for ye payment of a pension and its arrears hes not been obeyit, and yat it hes also been reducit two hundred pounds a year, which your Majestie wold neiver gief way to when ther wes former retrenchments. Therafter I was cheatit out off my trup by ye calumnis

of som unjust persons, bot your Majestie efter informatione hes been gratiouslie pleisid to restore me as to the trup I had, which wes the first and eldest indipendant trup in Scotland, bot being non regimentit is ye last and youngest except ane. I wold remind your Majestie of ye loyaltie of my familie to ye throne as witness my houses brunt and ruined, ye standing monuments of our loyaltie and ye madness of thes dayes. I beseich your Majestie for redress for all ye trubils which have fellin on this hous, for in ye leat rebellion my familie relations, wassals, and all our people to ye werrie meanest of them stood so firme and constant to ye Royall interest yat non of them meade ye least defectione from their dewtie and loyaltie."

A few months after this petition was forwarded, the Marquis of Montrose, who held the coveted position of Captain of the Guard, died, and strong pressure was brought to bear on the Earl of Airlie to make application for the vacancy. The appointment, which carried with it considerable emoluments, was to a large extent honorary, and was in the patronage of His Majesty. Lord Airlie, however, was reluctant to press his claim; as hitherto he had received scant courtesy from Charles and was not in the mood to crave any benefit or reward. From different quarters he was urged to assert himself. and to prosecute his undoubted right to the position, but he steadily refused. He would take it if it were graciously offered, but he would not now condescend to ask anything of the King. In a letter dated "Edinburgh, 26th April 1684," Patrick Ogilvy wrote:

"I hartlie wish you may have better success for yourselff, and iff at this conjunctur you meet not with his Majestie's favor youre frends will regrat extremlie. Its taked hear yat the Lord Livingston is to post this night to deal for being Captan of the Guard in pleace of Montrose who dyed yesterday morning of ane fever. Others talk of Clavers pretending too it. If you doe not now doe for your selff, expect no help from ony hear and I wish you be no mor modest in your owin affears. I hartily wysh your good helth and success."

He would not, however, either move himself or encourage his friends to exert themselves on his behalf. He was too proud to solicit as a favour what on his merit and service he was entitled to in honour; and instead of posting to London as he had been urged to do, he remained quietly at Cortachy to give his much-needed attention to the tangled skein of his own affairs, which during his long absence had suffered seriously. Indeed, for the first time in his life he employed himself on the pastoral interests of the people on the Airlie estates, and took an interest in local affairs. A century before this time St. Colm's Fair, or Market of Muirsketh, had been held at Cortachy. He revived the ancient custom, and received a warrant to hold two fairs yearly at Cortachy, and established a weekly market at the kirkton, while he also initiated the half-yearly fairs at Alyth. In this, as well as in many other ways open to him, he identified himself with the interests of the people and the district.

In February, 1685, Charles II. died of apoplexy, and his brother, the Duke of York, reigned in his stead. James II. and VII. was a Roman Catholic of a pronounced and virulent type. During his administration of Scottish affairs on his succession to the Earl of Lauderdale, he had given a taste of the spirit in which he would rule over the people. Although he had not obtruded his Catholic proclivities in any marked degree beyond the discovery of the fact that he was sympathetic with the ancient religion, with John Graham of Claverhouse as a willing instrument, he, nevertheless, let the country feel with what relentless cruelty he was capable of pursuing his purpose. On his accession to the throne, many who were loyal to the monarchy were of doubtful mind as to the real attitude he was likely to adopt on the matter of religion. The Earl of Airlie, who was a strong adherent of Protestant doctrine and of the Reformed Church, was at first sceptical and undecided, wishing to be loyal yet afraid of a policy that might be contrary to his convictions. But whatever doubts he may have entertained, these were agreeably dispelled when, at the opening of the Estates of Parliament, the Duke of Queensberry was able, on the authority of James, to give every assurance that the Protestant religion should be preserved, and that he would protect and maintain the doctrine and government of the Church as they were

established by law; promising to take the concerns of the regular clergy under his special care. Like many others, Lord Airlie was relieved that no danger to his conscientious principles was to be apprehended; and though the Parliament at once proceeded to enact still more stringent measures against nonconformists, this was just what the occasion required. He was satisfied, with the result that on John Graham of Claverhouse being promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General with full command of His Majesty's forces in Scotland, when he was offered the command of a regiment of dragoons, Lord Airlie, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, took to the field again. For a year he was in arms against the nonconformists, and this year was marked by greater severities against the Presbyterians than any period of the reign of Charles II., and is known in history as "the black year, the killing time." The prisons overflowed, so that every available Government building, even Dunottar Castle, was used to incarcerate, regardless of sex, those whose only offence was that they chose to worship God according to the measure of their light, and after the manner of their conscience.

The Earl of Airlie's troop of horse patrolled the Ayrshire coast from Girvan and traversed the valley of the Clyde, with occasional marches into the interior as far as Dumfries, where he came into touch with the soldiers immediately under the command of Claverhouse. In this wide stretch of Covenanting country he would be kept busy if he took occasion to put every man and woman to the test. He was under the orders of a merciless leader who had no "bowels of compassion," and especially at this particular time when rumour was afloat of an organised revolt, there was a great severity in the inquest of the people's attitude and belief. The following is a report by Lord Airlie to John Graham of Claverhouse in the autumn of 1685:

"The rebels cam off ye field sixteen horses together, they cam upp the water of Greenoke and hovered about the Muirkirke, and crossed the padoke and about the brak of day uppon Frayday, refreshed themselfs at Corstone and from thir passed

towards Gallowa, the foot lay in the moss nigh the skirmish, until night, and dispersed themselffs in the morning. Ther ar naine of the traitors wounded so they cannot be far off."

Thus, in their own homely phrase, the nonconformists were "hunted like partridges on the mountains." But a fresh impulse was given to Lord Airlie's command by the intelligence that a concerted plan was at the stage of being put into action. On the passing of the Test Act, many of the nobility, when they saw what it portended, made their escape to Holland. The Earl of Argyll, because he had exposed its ambiguous terms, was promptly lodged in the Castle of Edinburgh, but making his escape found asylum among the sympathetic Dutch. While the Estates of Parliament were occupied in promoting the views of the autocratic James, and the army of the King was drenching the land with the blood of the innocent, intelligence was received that the Earl of Argyll with a body of soldiers had set out to invade the country and defend the liberties of the people, while the Duke of Monmouth was to set in motion the invasion of England. The conduct of the Chief of the Campbells shows that he had neither the wisdom nor the cunning of his father, the Marquis, nor had he his influence over the clan. In the hope of being joined by his own vassals, he published broadcast throughout Argyleshire his intention of striking a blow for freedom, and summoned the Campbells to his standard, but the response was disappointing. Failing to rouse the west, he was induced to make his way with what followers he could muster, and join others in an attempt to stir the Lowlands. Meanwhile the Privy Council having received accurate information of his intentions, the army, being reinforced by Atholl troops and men of the Gordons, was ordered to keep a strict watch on the approaches from the western Highlands. Lord Airlie would not require much urging on a mission of this sort; it would be altogether to his liking. "My houses brunt and ruined, ye standing monuments of our loyaltie," still rankled in his mind, and here was another opportunity of "sweet revenge." With but a meagre band of followers, the Earl of Argyll at last emerged in the Clyde Valley, when the force was scattered and its leader taken prisoner to Edinburgh, where he was promptly executed.

This abortive revolt, however, was the means of instigating still more drastic measures against the Presbyterians, and Lord Airlie must bear his share of the infamy which history attaches to the inhuman methods that were put in practice. It is, of course, true that he was a soldier who had sworn allegiance to the King, and whose duty it was to carry out the orders of the Parliament; but, as will be seen presently, he was not long in sheathing the sword and resigning his commission when the policy dictated by the Sovereign was contrary to his own cherished principles and ideal. But meantime the Government, in the belief that there might be more behind the Argyll attempt than appeared, proceeded against all of them whom it had in its power with the most remorseless severity. Under the pretence that they had connived at the designs of this Presbyterian faction, some of the best families in the west and south of Scotland were stripped of their possessions and their lands were forfeited, in many cases the spoils going to the victors; Lord Airlie laying claim to the confiscated property of the Earl of Melvin as his share of the booty, as the following petition, dated at "Edinburgh, 18th June, 1686," shows. In asking James II. for "a gift of Lord Melvin's forfeiture," he reminds the King that

"The greatest honor my familie can pretend to is to have bin servants to and sufferers for youre Majestie's Royall father and brother of ever glorious memorie."

The year before his accession to the throne, Lord Airlie had laid his case before James to as little purpose or effect as he had done to Charles in respect to the arrears of his pension, though he had stated the involved condition of his affairs as the result of his loyal support of the reigning House, and asking him

"to extricate and rid me out of my difficulties wch my faithfull service hes involved me in, that in som kynd I maybe a sharer

with ye new beginers who is like to eate ye fruits of our Labours. Iff youre Royall Hieness doe not tak me into youre particular care ther will be an end of ane ancient familie who for many hundred yeirs hes no Remission in their Charter Chest."

Throughout 1686 the Earl of Airlie continued to serve under Claverhouse, and was responsible for the peace of the west country, which had by this time become more settled and the prospect less gloomy; so that his chief could write to him from Edinburgh on 20th May of this year:

## "My LORD,

Be pleased to cause satisfie any thing that is owing by your troop in the quarter wher they ar and then order their march to Kilsyth, Campsey, or Strathblane, which three places ar appointed for the quarter of your troop for this summer. So soon as they come ther the Commissioners must be acquented to sett raits for grass, which must be payed accordinglie. The troop must stay together, or, at least, in considerable numbers for their better security, so that they may move from on place to ane other as the advantage of the grass will allow. The Officers ar to attend the troop who ar to caus preserve grass in these places according to the desein of their remuvall.

I am, My Lord, Your most humbill servant
J. GRAHAME."

By the end of the year, however, the Earl of Airlie's loyalty and affection for the Sovereign received a rude shock, and he found that his reliance on the pledged word of the King and his confidence in him had been betraved. Honest and straightforward himself, who would only promise that which he hoped to perform, he all the more readily accepted the promise of James that he would protect the Protestant religion as then established by On the strength of this, he had rendered his royal master devoted and loyal service. If a pronounced devotee of Episcopal orders, he was above all a Protestant, sincere, whole-hearted, and thoroughly persuaded in his own mind that the Reformed doctrine was a true reflection of the Christian revelation. From this attitude throughout his career he had never resiled. If, too, he were impulsive, he was tenacious. He held to his course firmly, and pursued his ideal consistently. When, therefore, under the guise of a friendly care "of others our innocent subjects, those of the Roman Catholic religion," His Majesty proceeded to remove from their Sees such of the Bishops as had ventured to resist his proposals to make room for men in sympathy with his views and at least lukewarm to the Reformed Church. Lord Airlie, like many others who had at great cost upheld the Protestant religion, began to view with alarm the trend of things, and to debate within himself the line of duty that the uncertain prospect demanded. For one thing, he would not be so far disloyal as to oppose the King: if he could not agree with his ecclesiastical polity. If he could not he would retire from the scene. acquiesce, he would not resist. By the summer of 1687, when it was beyond doubt that James was moving in the direction of imposing the Catholic faith upon the people. he resigned his commission and returned to Cortachv.

Charles II., notwithstanding all his faults and failings, his idiosyncrasy and want of principle, was consistent in his attachment to the Protestant religion. It has been remarked of him that "he never said a foolish thing, nor ever did a wise one"; but he had the wisdom to see that, with his brother a professed Catholic, going openly to Mass, there was the danger, in the religious temper of the nation, of future trouble and perhaps revolution. He thus took the precaution to have his nieces carefully educated in the tenets of the Protestant faith, knowing well that this would be agreeable to the vast majority of his subjects. From their earliest years, the Princesses were instructed in the doctrines of the Reformed Church, and had instilled into their minds the errors and corruption of Roman Catholicism. This early influence may to a large extent be taken as explanatory of the behaviour of Mary in entering into opposition to her father at this crisis of his fortune. As he saw one after another of the forces of the nation turning against him, he apprehended that he was losing ground; but, when he received the intelligence that his own daughter, accompanied by her husband, the Prince of Orange, had landed at Torhav and were setting out for Whitehall amid the acclamation of the people, he burst into tears and cried, "My God my own children have forsaken me." When the news of these events-that William and Mary were installed in London, and that James had fled the country -reached the Earl of Airlie, he at once rode to Edinburgh, which was a scene of great excitement, to throw in his lot with the new régime. From thence, with many eager spirits who apprehended that a new order of things would be introduced, he hastened to London, where, amongst others, he was invited to meet the Prince, who was desirous of hearing the views of the Scottish people respecting what should be done for maintaining the Protestant interest. Lord Airlie had good reason to believe that his ideal of Church polity would be realised, for William let it be known that his own inclination was to continue Episcopacy; and while stipulating that every man should be free to worship God according to his conscience, yet his own mind was that the same form of Church government should be established throughout the whole of Britain. It was on the strength of this attitude that the Earl of Airlie threw the whole weight of his influence in favour of William and Mary, and, at the meeting of the Estates of Parliament in March, 1689, amid the array of conflicting sentiments, induced him to sign the Act declaring the legality of the meeting. But the vision of his joy suffered eclipse when three months later the majority of Parliament enacted

"that Prelacy and all superiority of any office in the Church of this Kingdom above Presbyters should be abolished; that certain Acts establishing Episcopacy should be rescinded; and that their Majesties, with the advice and consent of the Estates, should settle by law that Church government in the kingdom which was most agreeable to the inclinations of the people."

It was a grievous disappointment to the Earl of Airlie when he saw the work, for which he had fought so strenuously and in behoof of which he had made such great sacrifices, altogether undone, leaving not a vestige of the principles in which he believed. He had suffered and fought in vain. He had seen vanishing from his

view, like mist before the rising sun, the chief element of the national policy in support of which he had adventured life and property. He was greatly cast down at this quick and unexpected turn of affairs, and although he did his utmost to oppose the change, he found himself in a miserable minority, playing a part that was disagreeable to his nature—that of "a voice crying in the wilderness." In his zeal to welcome the Prince of Orange on the ground that he saw in him the assurance of the Protestant religion, he had not foreseen that the result of his liberal views and policy would take the form of what is known as the Revolution Settlement, whereby Episcopacy was abolished, and pure and unadulterated Presbytery came to be established in the country. had not bargained for this turn of events. He was an ardent Episcopalian, and although the Church, till 1661. had been a blend of the two systems of government which met with his approval, he was far from being pleased at the total abolition of the episcopal element, leaving Presbytery pure and simple. This he resented. If he did not actively oppose, he did not approve it. The fact. however, that the great majority of the nation were in favour of this policy may have served to stifle his opposition, and may have taught him that to have taken this course would be futile and vain. Besides, he was much too loyal to the throne to create disturbance when, after long years of strife, there was now the promise of peace. Accordingly, he withdrew from these polemics of Church and State, and absented himself from Parliament, for which dereliction of duty he was fined, in 1693, £1,200 Scots. He paid the penalty and kept his principles. Again. in 1698, his default was the subject of debate, and he was reminded of his duty; but on this occasion he was not without excuse, as he was able to present a doctor's certificate-John Stevenson, apothecary in Banff-to the effect that "James, Lord Ogilvy cannot leave be reason of his age, being allwayis tender, 2nd February 1698." Again, on 11th November, 1700: "The Earl of Airlie was excused by His Grace, His Majesty's High Commissioner in respect of his great age and infirmity": while in recognition of his conscientious objections, King William III., by Act of Council, caused him "to be excepted from the Articles of Westminster."

The last eight years of his life were spent at Banff. Cortachy Castle was in great need of repair. After the burning of Airlie Castle in 1640, it was hurriedly put in order for the reception of the family, and since then little had been done. In 1696 Lord Airlie entered on a scheme of reconstruction, and writing to Lord Ogilvy on 28th May of this year he said:

"I have seen the draught of the hous of Cortachie when it is to be reformed wherewith I am werrie weill satisfeid."

He had "seen the draught," but he was not indulged the privilege of seeing "the hous reformed." He left Cortachy in February, 1696, never to return.

"A little light man, always very loyal," is the description of him which history recalls. If he were small in stature, he was great in heart and in counsel, extremely active and persevering in all matters relating to the welfare of the State. He was a personality of a robust and impressive type. He was of intense virility of temperament, a man of marvellous courage and determination, to whom a difficulty only raised his spirit to wrestle with it and give it a fall. He knew not fear, and dangerpoints were to him grounds of vantage. He faced the stormy days in which his lot was cast just as a sailor always accepts rough weather without murmur or complaint, and with a sense as of superiority to fate. The risks and consequences to himself never seem to have entered into his calculations in any of the adventures of his life. He had his ideal, and he stood by it at all times and at all cost. The troubles through which he passed. the sufferings and imprisonments he endured, instead of daunting, only strengthened and fortified his belief in the cause he had so unselfishly espoused and on which he had so fearlessly embarked.

"It is not but the tempest that doth show The seaman's cunning; but the field that tries The soldier's courage; and we come to know Best what men are in their worst jeopardies."

The crucial experiences of the Earl of Airlie's life brought out the courage and fortitude of the man. For him, reverse only meant fresh effort; defeat had but the effect of spurring him on to more strenuous action. At his best in a difficult situation, he maintained an unruffled composure in his darkest hours, and in his "worst jeopardies" never parted with his good-humour. somewhat a fatalist, he had yet the good sense, when the tragedy of the occasion required it, to take fast hold of fate and make the most of it; while his patience and courage never forsook him. Of a large-hearted and healthy nature, he was invariably cheerful, the soul of every campaign, and the source of merriment around every camp-fire. Naturally energetic, acute, sagacious, he united with these common qualities great tenderness of feeling and a comprehensive insight into the principles for which he contended; subordinating to his country's good the chosen purposes of his youth and the cherished plans of his maturer years. Truthfulness, uprightness, and untainted integrity were the moral pillars of his life, while to crooked policy, or double-dealing, or deceit, he could not stoop. In the days when so many crosscurrents swept the political landscape, and it was the custom among many of the leading families of the nobility-to avoid the chance of attainder or forfeitureto divide their attitude and sympathise with both sides, the Earl of Airlie, unheeding consequences, pursued the path of what appealed to him and in which he believed. If, in relation to ecclesiastical polity, he may be charged with bigotry, this was not the result of a narrow mind or contracted spirit, but of the intensity of his convictions and a sensuous regard for the ornate in religious worship. Episcopacy was the tradition of his House, and whatever appertained to the family honour was certain to gain his attachment as it was his defence. He made many enemies in his time, as by his indomitable courage and unflinching loyalty to his ideal he was bound to do; but his character, his talents, the energy of his. nature, and, above all, the single-hearted and heroic devotion of the man, made him to be honoured even by

those who at the time might differ from him in those great problems which, during most of his life, agitated the country. He saw great length of years and experienced a remarkable degree of health. Not till he had passed the fourscore and ten years was he unable to enjoy moderate exercise, or attend to his affairs with a clear mind and a quick intelligence. In addition to the nine years of the Commonwealth, he had lived under six Sovereigns, for he was able, on the accession of Queen Anne in 1702, to write proffering his loyalty to her person and throne.

"A little light man," he had marvellous powers of endurance and a wonderful resource of strength and vitality, and until the last two years of his life, which witnessed a growing weakness and a gradual decline into "the valley of the shadow," he had experienced a remarkable freedom from physical trouble, while of organic disease he was singularly free. During these two years he was "very tender" with the feebleness which accompanies old age. Indeed, he lived till he could live no longer, and when he died at "Lord Airlie's Lodging," on 16th February, 1704, in his ninety-third year, the light of his life was extinguished through the sheer exhaustion of nature. On the last day of the same month, when Nature was giving signs of fresh activity, at eight o'clock in the morning, he was quietly laid to rest in the Church of Banff, where the North Sea moans around his grave, and the sighing of the wind joins in a sympathetic lament for a brave, self-denying, and chivalrous hero of the House of Airlie, who, having lived a strenuous life, had yet the spirit to

<sup>&</sup>quot;Greet the unseen with a cheer."

## DAVID, THIRD EARL OF AIRLIE

THERE is a great descent from father to son, passing from genius to mediocrity. Following in the wake of a long line of distinguished ancestors who have left the impress of their forceful character on the nation's history, it is perhaps a sudden, though by no means an unaccountable, decline to the lymphatic personality of the third Earl of Airlie. With one exception he was the weakest of his race, and what little talent he possessed as the gift of Nature suffered by neglect. Whether by careful cultivation in the early years of boyhood he might have developed a shrewd intelligence and attained an average ability by the timely awakening of the latent faculties of his mind, is open to question; but in the circumstances in which those years were passed, comprising the constant vicissitudes through which his parents lived, the stress of the time and the strain on the family fortunes rendered his education a difficult matter, and he was allowed to spend them without the benefit of a proper training. A child of the Civil War, he was born during those anxious months when his father was a prisoner in the Tolbooth and on daily trial for high treason which threatened his life. A perilous condition in most cases, considering the Ogilvv temperament, accentuated in this particular instance, the chances of evil effects were fraught with serious possibilities. fluctuations of hope and fear which then encompassed the mother, "the brave Ladie," in those days of tumult and strife, of grinding care and dreadful uncertainty, were reflected in her offspring, who was launched into the world a delicate child of fragile constitution and fractious temper. During childhood he was the object of anxious concern and careful nursing, and he was well

into vouth before he gathered strength and put on the bloom of health. For this reason his education was delayed, while the absence of his father—a prisoner in the Tower of London-and the unsettled state of the country during the years of the Commonwealth when the House of Airlie suffered severely, such efforts as were made to afford a mental training were so inconstant and vacillating as to produce little permanent benefit. At length he was entrusted to the domestic care and tuition of Mr. George Halyburton, minister of Perth, who is described as a "very good worthy man," under whose charge he remained at the annual cost of 200 merks or £11 5s. sterling, "for bedde and boorde, and coals, and candle, and washinge, and mendinge." How long he continued under the tutorial inspiration of his reverend preceptor is not recorded, but it would seem that the latter had designed that he should proceed to the University, and had made the necessary arrangements. His dear mother, however, taking alarm at the idea of her fondling being sent adrift in the mixed crowd of a college quadrangle, recalled him to the domestic hearth at Balloch, unfortunately during the absence of his tutor, who on his return wrote from Perth, on 1st March, 1661, to Lady Helen Ogilvy that he "is sorrie that she has removed her son in his absence as he had intended himself to be his convoy to Colledge." On reconsideration matters were adjusted, and David, Master of Ogilvy, was allowed to brave the turbulent elements of youthful collegians, as may be gathered from a letter to his father, then in London indulging in all the luxuries of the Restoration, for the minister of Perth, as a pleasing preamble to the main purpose of his letter, states: "David is gone to Colledge, I am confident he woll make as brave a spirit as anie in his name and he woll bee as brave a man." A very gratifying testimonial from his tutor had it been in any way an approach to the truth, since it would mislead while it would delight the father. who for years had seen very little of his son. But it fulfilled the purpose it was meant to serve, as the letter goes on to ask the favour of Lord Ogilvy's great influence at Court (he was not yet Earl of Airlie) for a bishopric, preferring

"a Patent for Dunkeld where I am best knowne and has best poware and mae doe most service to my God, King, ye Churche and my frindes. If not it, his Majistie be pleased to sende me to the backe of November when others of lesse deserving are placed in yee sunnie side with plentie. I sall count my selffe unfortunate but never blame his Majistie; onlie in yat case I hope his Majistie woll not make mee last and worst too, to sende mee to a meane provisione where for his honor and service I will bee forced to spende my owne state, where overs yat never were knowne King's frindes till of late are plentifullie provided to beare out his Majistie's service with grandore."

As may be gathered from what has already been written on this subject, Lord Ogilvy left no stone unturned to promote the interest and dignity of the minister of Perth, and as the result of his canvass the heart of George Halyburton was rejoiced on receiving by Letters Patent from Charles II., dated 18th January, 1662, the said bishopric of Dunkeld, thus placing him "in yee sunnie side with plentie." Writing his grateful thanks for the honour bestowed upon him, he said:

"I hope yee have good satisfactione in youre sonne, ye Master my pupil, yat ye have founde all to bee true I wrote to youre Lordship. Wee all here expect yours Lors. suddaine coming home seeing nowe youre familie is altogether without a heade."

When at length his father did return, and for the first time gave serious thought to his own affairs, he discovered that the Master of Ogilvy was not the paragon of learning or so "brave a spirit" as had been represented either by the Bishop of Dunkeld or his University tutor, who on 4th June, 1664, reported that his course had been accorded

"Great commendatione both for his regulare walking and his diligent attendance on his studies too great proficience and now living jolie at home uncertain of youre Lors. return as also of your minde howe yee intende to dispose of him as to his further breeding."

Lord Ogilvy, so good-hearted as to border on simplicity, was yet a shrewd man of the world when he cared to exercise his power of discrimination, taking in the situation, determined to enlarge the scope of his son's mental horizon by sending him on a course of foreign travel, as had so long been the family custom. As he knew the ground well he drew up the itinerary himself, and thus conveyed his intention for "his further breeding":

"As for making ye toure of France, I am not clear for it, bot I wold have you to sie sum places upone ye rever of Loire and staye there this sumer iff it be not dangerous because of ye apparent warr, and iff ye warr goe on I wold have yee com to Paris to live in sum privat place where Mr. Mowatt will advyse you wher you may have your fencing Master to com to youre chamber and a Professor of the Law which is a studie I wold have you to follow during your staye abroad."

The hope of the House of Airlie—a nervous, awkward youth, now in his twenty-first year—set out in the track of his forefathers to discover the ways and the manners of the French; having as body-servant one James Hunter, who is described as a "very civil lad." His destination was the house of John Ogilvy at Orleans, where with his wife and family he entertained en pension travellers of quality from the land of his nativity. Sailing from Dundee to Calais, he providentially escaped a rough passage, as writing from Paris, 15th November, 1664, he blesses his good-fortune:

"We was no sooner com off then ther arose so grit a Tempest that ther wer two ships caste away and a grit manie of the uther men wer in deanger being unexpectedlie driven away from the shoar. We arrived in Paris and was met by Balnamoon . . . tomorrow we leave for Orleans wher I will endevor with God's assistence to be diligent about my exercise and studies."

The course of study prescribed by the father was not, however, altogether to the liking of the son; a month in harness had changed his views. Perhaps the unromantic atmosphere of Constitutional Law had cooled his sense of diligence. On 2nd December, 1664, he wrote to his father:

"Although my going for France be judged by sum to be altogether unnecessar, yet I am confident that youre Lordship's having so grit care of my educatione and breeding will not be unmindful of youre promis."

If he disliked the studies, he had no strong objection to the exercises, which included fencing, dancing, and playing on the violin, in all of which his host was able to report him "well and bussy":

"the air of France hath brought already a great change in his dancing so that I can assure youre Los. he'll dance weel wt. tyme and peines taken on him wch. shall not be neglected."

A few months later he writes of his charge in a more doubtful tone as to his progress and efficiency:

"I have the Master in good helth and in good company. He wants for nothing and is bussy at his exercises wt. excellent Maisters both for fencing and dancing, so iff he be not good at both it is his own fault; bot I hop he sall give youre Lors. contentment when ye sie him. His study is the universal history in which he is well advanced. He understands the French language very weel to wryt, speak, and read bot not wt. grit peines."

"He wants for nothing," wrote John Ogilvy of the pension, who found it difficult to be honest. The Master of Ogilvy tells a different story. His father was ever "slow in business" where his own affairs were concerned, but, as we have seen, alert and active in promoting the interests of other people. In London, Captain of the King's Bodyguard, he was too deeply engrossed in what proved the thankless task of seeing that Charles II. was firmly established on the throne to think of such trifling things as ways and means. He had arranged to finance the tour through a firm of bankers in Paris, but he frequently neglected to forward the necessary draft, and had oftentimes to be reminded of the oversight. Though in the end the money was always forthcoming, John Ogilvy, while he promptly settled his own bills, was equally dilatory in paying the fees of the "Maisters" employed in giving the finishing touches to the Master's education, and in addition kept the young

man very short of pocket-money and his wardrobe at a low ebb. Dull as he was, the Master of Ogilvy perceived or had it put into him that he was being taken advantage of, for in one of his letters he says: "The Scottish and English who are heir admireth my staying so long in this place." With a spice of temper he wrote to his father, 19th November, 1665:

"I believe youre Lordship puts trust in Mr. Ogilvy's abilitie to doe my business, bot on the contrarie, besides that his disagreement with his wife these several years hath incapacitate him, his wife is mor desirous of money for her owne particular then the merchand, so that on all hands they count as they please. . . . I am reducted to this strait that I am ashamed to com in companie for want of sufficient clothes."

And a month later he reports disagreement with his host, and complains that he has had "only two suits of clothes as are ordinaire," that his "Maisters are all unpaid," and that he himself "has not had a groat for his owne purse"; while honest James Hunter blurts out the truth in a letter to Lord Ogilvy:

"I cannot overpasse not acquenting youre Lordship that the Master of Ogilvy is not of so good intelligence as I could wish... Wee cannot walke upon the streets for Marchands, Dancing and Fencing Masters and the like. Wee have small contentment within doors because the Mistress is always craving us for money."

In Orleans there was a colony of Scots: some, like the Master of Ogilvy, were there to perfect their knowledge of the polite language and to acquire the refined manner of the French; others were in exile though heartily enjoying all the sweets of liberty with their compatriots. There was, of course, close and intimate friendship and the best of good-fellowship. Lord Fountainhall was on tour and made his headquarters in the Ogilvy pension, where he found, besides the Master of Ogilvy and James Hunter, "Young Thirlestan" and his servant, Patrick Porteous. The Master of Lour and his governor, David Scott, were also in Orleans; and the son of the Earl of Ethie tells how the hostess and "Mademoiselle"

organised expeditions and picnics, for one of which he says: "I paid saltly that being their policy." He was very friendly with his neighbour from Cortachy, though he seems to have formed a moderate opinion of his capabilities: "The Master of Ogilvy and I ware very great. I know not what for a man he'el prove, but I have heard him speak very great nonsense whiles." The free-and-easy life, however, was rudely interrupted by the threat of war between the two nations, of which the now Earl of Airlie had given Lord Ogilvy timely warning, adding:

"If ye thinck ther be anie harsard in youre staying, or that ye cannot enjoy youre exercise and stodes in fredome I intreit that ye may cum hom. I have wrytten to Mr. Mouatt to furnish youe monie for youre jurnie. I expect Thome Ogilvy will cum over wt. you if he can; bot I lieve all thes thingis to youre aien discretione."

After informing him of his grandfather's death, he asks him, when visiting Paris, to bring home

"half a dissen good pirivicks as they are much used heir and at Court, and they will doe better with youe nor youre owne hare."

The prospect of home was a great relief. While the novelty lasted he had a measure of enjoyment, and tackled the exercises and the studies with a serious purpose; but, awkward at the one and beyond his depth in the other, he soon tired of both and longed for the hills of Cortachy, over which he loved to roam unburdened by such intellectual pursuits as the precepts and statutes which govern the nations. He was a child of Nature, simple and artless as Nature itself. If he had no great intellect, he yet possessed a natural sagacity, and, with a trusting disposition, combined a shrewdness that was at once a safe guide to his own conduct and could discern the devious ways of others. Notwithstanding the honourable name they bore, the Ogilvys of the pension, perhaps underestimating his intelligence, took advantage of him, and instead of promoting his welfare feathered their own nest. He saw this clearly enough, but was much too good-natured to quarrel with them. Replying to a letter from Thomas Ogilvy which reached him on 1st January, 1666, "as a New Year's gift," he wrote:

"I esteem'd it as ane of a heigh prise, being stuff'd with that good news of our frindes and youre selffe wch I long'd to heir."

On the rocks, he asks for a loan of money and discloses the unscrupulous character of the Ogilvys:

"It not being with us as my Lord expects; for people be so poor heir that if they could reach the devil he wold be in deanger to losse his skin. For my part I find it easie to them to tourne a man's pors who hath not present money. The warrs are heir deklared betwist our King and the French, and oure Ambassadors is sent for who hath kist the King of France his hands and hath advertised all oure King his subjects to goe allonge with him for England. As for me I sall obey my Lord's cumands."

Leaving Orleans without regret, he arrived in Paris, where Mr. Mouatt took him in charge and reported to the Earl of Airlie on 5th April, 1666:

"His Lo/ is in all securitie heir untill his Majistie Returne for England and ye Ambassador whoe is not to remove this month. In ye meane tyme his Lo/ sall sie ye Court of France and all uther thingis to be sien in and about Paris."

This occupation was altogether to his liking. Free of the exercises and studies, he enjoyed the sight-seeing immensely, was introduced to the Court, and presented to Henrietta Maria, the Queen-Mother, and, as money was more plentiful, indulged in an expensive collation costing "6 franks." By the beginning of June, hearing that Colonel Douglas was crossing to England with his regiment, he left Paris for Rouen, where he joined his compatriots and arrived in London on 21st June, 1666, where he took "a lodging near Charing Cross... and is waiting my Lord's instructions."

These instructions were speedily forthcoming, and the nature of them may be gathered from the dutiful letter of Lord Ogilvy to the Earl of Airlie. It was the custom of the period, on the termination of the Grand Tour, to pay respects and give homage to the Sovereign, and for

this purpose his father had advised him to wait upon the Earl of Lauderdale, Secretary of State, who would make the necessary arrangements. In his letter dated "London, 10th July 1666," he states:

"Aifter recpt of youre Lordship's letter I went to my Lord Lauderdaille and his Lordship was plesed to tak me to kiss the King his hands. His Majestie testified a great daile of Kindness, but went immediatelie to recave the Swedis Ambassador and his Ladie. I went also to sie the ceremonie and aifter payed a visit to my Ladie Lauderdaille. On Sunday I went to Highgate and dinned ther. I was made very welcom and my Ladie showed a great daille of respect to youre Lordship and told me that youre Lordship had orders for the levieing of a troupe. I had heard of it befor at Court, but durst not writt to youre Lordship of uncertaintie."

The "instructions" of the Earl of Airlie to his son, while counselling the necessity of paying his dutiful respects to Charles II., contained pregnant matter which opens out a fresh interest in the career of Lord Ogilvy that covers the next thirty years of his life. The Earl of Lauderdale, famous in his country's history, in his vouth was a queer, eccentric-looking boy and, considered by his family somewhat "daft," had little attention paid to his education. The story is related by Dean Ramsay how the discovery was made that he was possessed of more intelligence than they had thought. His father, the first Earl of Lauderdale, was so ill as to cause great alarm to his friends and perplexity to his physicians. One distressing symptom was aggravated insomnia, and the medical men declared their opinion that without sleep being induced he could not recover. While expressing this opinion to Lady Lauderdale in the diningroom, a voice from under the table, where the "daft" Viscount Maitland lay unobserved, cried out: "Sen' for that preachin' man frae Livingstone, for faither aye sleeps in the kirk when he's preachin'." The hint was taken. The doctors arranged an exchange of pulpits unknown to the Earl of Lauderdale, who on seeing the unpopular divine appear in the pulpit was much mortified, but no sooner had the minister begun the sermon than he went to sleep, and, sleeping soundly through the full hour of delivery, recovered. On learning how his recovery had been brought about, he took more notice of his son, paid attention to his education, and was gratified to see him blossom out in a rare intelligence and to develop a remarkable force of character. He married a daughter of the first Earl of Home, by whom he had an only child, a daughter, a prize in her day. The Earl of Airlie had set his mind upon Lady Anne Maitland as a suitable match for Lord Ogilvy, and had instructed him accordingly. Without doubt he would be as gracious as it was in his power to be, and as deferential as he had been taught, but it is evident that he failed to make a deep impression on the young Lady's mind, as he frankly admits:

"My Lord, it plesed youre Lordship to wryte to me of my Lord Lauderdaille his daughter, and I esteem hir a good and worthie Lady, yit in reference to marriadge ther is sum things to be said but youre Lordship sall cummand me in all."

As a few months later Lady Anne Maitland was given in marriage to the Earl of Tweeddale, this door was closed against the ambition of the Earl of Airlie. Disappointed in this direction Lord Ogilvy journeyed north and found himself once more at Cortachy, in the height of summer with the heather coming into bloom, under the firm though not unkindly rule of his grandmotherthe Countess of Airlie. By the time he arrived the Earl of Airlie was deeply employed in the twofold capacity of being in hot pursuit of the Marchioness of Huntly and engaged in defence of the east coast against a threatened invasion of the Dutch. His mind was so full of these campaigns of love and war that he saw nothing of his son for more than a year. In the meantime the Countess of Airlie, who had seen three of her granddaughters safely disposed of in wedlock, took upon herself the domestic happiness of her grandson, and had fixed upon a suitable bride for him. "Propositionnes of mariag is a tender business," wrote the Earl of Crawford, as he hesitatingly suggested a match between Lord Halkerton and Lady Margaret Ogilvy; but, being a woman, Lady Airlie would recognise nothing "tender" about what was the law and order of Nature, and, in this particular instance, an urgent family necessity. She evidently did not harbour the deep resentment of her sister against the House of Southesk over Lady Magdalene Carnegv's rejection of her son. A new generation had come upon the scene, and the old sore was healed. What did trouble her was the indifference of the Earl of Airlie to her projected alliance. At the time, his own suit being in a parlous position, he had no thought for Lord Ogilvy's adventures in the like sphere. He was pushing his own fortune with spirit, and may have thought his son should act for himself in like manner. He was a man of the world, and knew that these delicate affairs of the heart prospered best when prosecuted directly and at first hand. But his mother thought otherwise, and with a touch of asperity reminded him of his duty to the family of which he was the head:

"I thocht it my dewtie you being ane stranger to anie thing that has past to let you know it wil be youre best to walk sircumspectlie in it that youre credit may be preservit; that you suffer nether youre selffe nor youres to be too much stickit, for ther is noe reson for it. I belive youre sonne has sum respect that way, bot I hop he sall walk sircumspectlie and do be youre advyse and other frindes. Youe know that I have had muche Kindness for al the name of Carnegie, bot my hert can not serve me that anie that I am soe muche conserned in should be soe far stickit."

Matters were not shaping so favourably as she should wish, and so the Countess of Airlie wanted the powerful influence of her son brought in, if perchance he might bear down the opposition or remove any reluctance to accept the proposal. Whether the Earl of Airlie intervened to save, if possible, the position that was "soe far stickit" is not known, but as nothing came of it Lady Airlie had to bow to a second disappointment in the family of Southesk. In the autumn of 1669 the Marchioness of Huntly took up the reins of government at Cortachy Castle, and, as soon after her husband was

called out on active service which kept him in the field for a few years, she had for most part Lord Ogilvy for companion. They got on well together; he was greatly attached to her, and she was considerate and kind to him. While her lord was campaigning against the Covenanters, the now Countess of Airlie, taking up the threads of her mother-in-law's discourse, was busy planning the apparently difficult task of having her stepson settled in life. Over what fields her mind had ranged has not been disclosed, but it was generally known that she was on the outlook for a wife for Lord Ogilvy, as the following letter will show. Unfortunately it is undated, but is subscribed "George Graham"—very likely a relative.

"If my Lord Ogilvie intend to marie and live a hapie life I know a fine Lady for him of 23 yeirs of adge, my Lord Semples relict. She has fiftie thousand merks in good monie, for she has sold her jointure to the nighest of kinne of her Lord, and taken back hir ane tocher and put it in such hands as she may call for itt when she will. A handsome, vertous Lady and of a good and cheerful nature and has a weall plenished ludging of good furniture store, and silver work, Dyaper and plentie of fynne lineings of all sorts. The gentlewoman that tends her is her owne cousin and a relative of my wifs, and wee wer on this discourse on Munday last and in respect she is a gentleman's daughter of the name of Blair in Angus she has a great respect to my Lord Airley's family, and if your Ladieship and my Lord intend to mannage this circumspectlie, she thinks it wery feasible."

Whether Lord Ogilvy was ever brought into touch with this "handsome and vertous Lady of a good and cheerful nature," whose attitude was such that a proposal by him was "wery feasible," the family records do not have the kindness to inform us; but "Lord Semples relict" with "plentie of fynne lineings of all sorts" was not predestinated to continue the succession of the House of Airlie. The helpmate predetermined by Providence will come upon the scene in due course, though many years will come and go before that which was foreordained shall come to pass; but meanwhile there was great anxiety in the minds of the family. An vol. II

only son, to whom the honours and estates would descend, and naturally on whom the hope of the House depended for succession in the main line, Lord Ogilvy was without ambition, and was perfectly satisfied with his bachelor freedom and showed no disposition to wish it otherwise. When he did marry it would not be on the ground of any high passion or commanding affection: it would not be on account of the transcending qualities, the intellectual moral worth, of a fair lady whose attractive presence should kindle within him the flame of admiring love; but rather as a sense of duty duly impressed upon him, and more especially in obedience to the will of his father, of whom he stood in awe, and to whom he paid the utmost deference. Clearly, a marriage would have to be arranged for him; and many were the projects and wide the field they covered that were discussed during the years. In this search for a wife for Lord Ogilvy one is reminded of the story of the man who set out on the singular quest of obtaining a token of the Divine Presence. He travelled far and wide over the mountains with painful outlook and buovant expectancy for the desired symbol. At length, as he stood on the summit of the Alpine range amid the melting snow, it is said that a sweet violet was seen to appear out of the cleft of the rock; whereupon he seized it as an answer to his prayer, and with a glad heart and bounding step he retraced his way home. On approaching his cottage in the valley, he was met by his little daughter, who ran towards him, carrying in her hand a sweet violet as like to that he so much treasured as like could be, which, having plucked at his own doorstep, she now presented to him. In like manner, Lord Ogilvy's friends had been looking far and wide for a suitable wife for him in vain, when the Lady of destiny was all the while resting quietly in the family of his nearest neighbour to the south. Once the Earl of Airlie, practical, sagacious. good-humoured, and diplomatic, retired from his favourite occupation of soldiering and took the trouble to grasp the situation, the nearest port in a storm was to him the soundest wisdom.

Lady Grizel Lyon, now well stricken in spinsterhood, was the eldest daughter of Patrick, third Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorn-by far the most illustrious member of the House of Glamis. A man of great versatility of thought and wonderful strength of character, he was a born statesman of pre-eminent business capacity, and was adroit in the management of his own affairs. member of the Privy Council and a Lord of the Treasury in the reign of Charles II., he brought a wide-sweeping mind to bear on the problems of administration. Like most strong-minded men, he had his peculiar aversions. one of these being a violent antipathy to second marriages; but it seems that he, on occasion, relaxed his opinion, since he was among the first to congratulate the Earl of Airlie on his marriage to the Marchioness of Huntly. His daughter, fortunately for the balance of Nature and for the future weal of the House of Airlie, inherited the strength of mind and the solidity of character of her great-parent. Though the country had been canvassed from the Tweed to the Spey, no better alliance under the circumstances could have been formed. the merciful providence of God, the Airlie family has had the good-fortune of a long succession of eminent Countesses who have given the stamp of their character to their posterity, thus recruiting the ancient stock in health and vigour of mind. Lady Grizel Lyon was not the least potent in this respect. She came into the family at an opportune time, bringing a well-balanced mind and great strength of character to reinvigorate the Ogilvy race; and if she was not so "weel tochered" as "Lord Semples relict" (and, sooth to say, the "fifty thousand merks in good monie" would have been greatly welcome at this particular juncture, and would have gladdened the heart of the Dowager-Countess of Airlie had she been alive), she nevertheless gave what money can never purchase—stamina the good effect of which may be traced in the revival of the romantic elements of the House of Airlie. The contract of marriage is dated "17th April and 8th May 1696," and a month later the marriage was celebrated.

In his fifty-third year Lord Ogilvy entered the ranks of the Benedicts with a maiden who, while she had parted with the bloom of her youth, was still in the full enjoyment of virtuous womanhood. In 1698 the heart of the Earl of Airlie was rejoiced as his mind was relieved by the birth of a son who was named after him-James. A second son followed a year later, named John after his maternal uncle-John, fourth Earl of Strathmore. Then later the domestic tale was told by the birth of a daughter, named Helen, who, it may be said here, died unmarried in 1721. Both the sons figure prominently in the annals of the family and in the life of the nation, reviving that attitude of mind and that ideal of the House with which by this time we have become so familiar, and of which in full flavour we have vet to participate.

The Earl of Airlie, with whose attractive personality we reluctantly part, having died on 16th February. 1704, a brieve, addressed to "the Baillie of our Regality of Kirriemuir," signed by Queen Anne "in the second year of our reign," commanded him "to summon a Jury for the purpose of an inquest to be held in the Parish Church on 31st July 1704." The jury consisted of the following freemen of the burgh: George Wishart; Andrew Lindsay; James Fraser, junior; David Brown; David Kinnaird; Thomas Mitchell; John Fyffe; James Rattray; Andrew McOmie; and Andrew Steill; while Francis Baillie, surgeon, and David Lyon, merchant, represented the friends of the deceased Earl of Airlie. At this meeting, "David, Lord Ogilvy, was served Heir-General to his father in his title and honours." Earl of Airlie, who, like his father though on very different grounds—the one on the score of genius, the other through incapacity-detested business, was not allowed to suffer thereby, as the Countess of Airlie, a capable manager, at once took full control of the estates. She had been educated in a good school by a shrewd master, and from her experience of the strict economy and methodical habits of management at Glamis, she was not slow to detect, as she was quick to rectify, the

loose and broken threads of the business. One thing in her favour was that she had neither to force nor wheedle her way to control; her lord absolutely refusing, she was allowed to take the reins in both hands, and during her tenure of power the leases were drawn up in the name, as they were in the handwriting, of "The Most Potent Grizel, Countess of Airlie." She was compelled to take the yoke upon her, since her husband was only thrown into a state of irritation by business propositions. Writing to John Ogilvy, Baillie of Coupar, then commissioner of the Airlie estates, on 26th December, 1708, she says:

"I entreat you if it be possible that you come to him, for wretting to him does nothing to him but puts him mad, so I shall say as Penelopy said 'wret not but come yr.selfe."

There was great need, as the adroit Lady of the Manor speedily found, of strict supervision; for ever since the death of the first Earl of Airlie matters had been allowed to drift. It is with estate management as with a factory or workshop, or indeed any kind of business—unless the head of the establishment is alert and auditorial there is bound to be carelessness, indifference, want of economy, and, as human nature is very human, occasionally dishonesty. Nothing escaped the shrewd and watchful eye of the Countess of Airlie, who knew the value of things and could estimate their profit and worth. Examining the statement of accounts for the year 1708, she detected extravagance which gave rise to a keen distrust of her subordinates, and she wrote to John Ogilvy:

"CORTACHIE, 17th April, 1709.

#### BAILLIE:

By your last I find I can n't expect you to goe alonge with me to Dundee, however I frankly excuse you, for I perswade my selfe hade you not pressing affairs you would not have failed. I am to be att Glamis this week, so the week affter, please God, I'm to see my children, so I reckon itt will be about the end of this month befor I be att Cortachie again. As to the delivery of the fferoms I declare my Ld. and I could give no more peremptor orders about itt then wee did, but as

I wrot to you befor you should truly mak a start amongst them yr selfe, so you would know the better what they were doing; for I declare I think there's knavery amongst 'em and I wish you would find itt out. I must tell you on thinge and if its true, I'm sure it is ane untolerable conivance which is as I hear that —— in Killemuir is gettinge victuall this year from some of my Lds. Tenants, its true he bought the last years but I'm sure non of this. This I think is worth yr pain's of inquiring the truth of."

Besides her keen-sighted supervision of estate affairs generally, she was a thrifty housewife, and Cortachy Castle during her reign was an object-lesson in domestic economy. Industrious to a degree, she managed everything with a brisk mind, and was never so much in her element as when keeping all hands at work. In those days a household of the dimensions of Cortachy resembled in a small way a factory—it was a hive of industry. The hand-loom was a recognised household activity, the wool being spun into blankets, and the linen yarn into sheets and napery. With the exception of silk and the finer quality of lace, all underclothing was of home manufacture and home-made. Save the few delicacies of the table, the wants of the household were met from the flocks and herds, the abundance of game that tenanted the hills and the wealth of fish that occupied the rivers, while meal and malt from the mill provided the wholesome bread and drink of the family. As in everything else, the following letter shows that the Countess of Airlie overlooked the brewerv. It is dated "Cortachie 3rd January 1705":

### "BAILLIE

As I was speaking to you when you was here, I have accordingly ordered Torex to send to you for three bolls of your malt for A tryall, to see how my Lord lov's itt. I would be content you send me direction how to cause Grind itt, and if you please how you use to cause brew itt, and I shall cause follow itt as near as possible. This is all the trouble till the tyme from

Sir Yr Assur'd friend GRISEL AIRLY."

By dint of her frugality and economical control of the household and estate affairs generally, Lady Airlie did much to redeem the low and straitened circumstances to which the family, like all Royalist supporters, had been reduced by the heavy fines exacted by Oliver Cromwell during the years of the Commonwealth; for the House of Airlie, like her own House of Strathmore, had been brought to the verge of poverty on account of their active sympathy for the Stewart cause. And now loyalty to the family ideal was to bring the Ogilvys under tribute again. The union of the Crowns had been effected before the first Earl of Airlie had embarked on his public career, and had been hailed throughout the country as a great and salutary achievement; but the Union of the Parliaments was not received with the same volume of unanimity: on the contrary, the proposition was strongly opposed, as the accomplishment was endured with grievous dissatisfaction on the part of the patriotic or Jacobite party, while many not particularly attached to the Stewarts vet lamented the loss of their ideal of independence, feeling, like James Hepburn of Keith, that "a Scottish gentleman had been reduced from being a person of some estimation to being the same as nobody." This attitude as time went on grew still more rancorous and added to the body of its followers.

From the Forth to the Spey, large numbers of the Lowland nobility—like the generality of Highland chiefs, who could see no reason for preferring a Sovereign on account of any peculiarity in his religion and gave but a nominal submission to the Parliamentary monarchs, William and Anne—were openly hostile to the Union, and within a year of its consummation gave tangible evidence of their dislike. The high pitch of temper created on the passing of the Act of Succession by the English Parliament, devolving the Crown on the Electress Sophia and her descendants regardless of Scottish sentiment and opinion, though answered at the time by the counterblast of the Act of Security by the Estates of Scotland, had never been allayed, and ever ready to take offence the Scots seized the opportunity of

the divided state of public opinion over the Union to strike a blow in favour of the Stewarts. The attempted invasion of the French in 1708 was a warning to the British Government of the disaffection of a powerful section of the Scottish people; and if by "one of those happy providences for which we have much to answer" the plan failed and the country was saved from the civil war that would have ensued, the issue of which in the then excited state of feeling it would have been difficult to predict, it at least showed that the elements of combustion were there and might on some more propitious occasion blaze forth in eruption. The warning, however, went unheeded. No attempt was made to conciliate aggrieved patriotism—rather was it inflamed, as in the case of the abolition of the Scottish law of treason in favour of the English statute which, disallowing the benefit of counsel to the accused, was to be applicable to both countries. In this as in other ways, the interests of Scotland were regarded and treated almost entirely with reference to exigencies of political parties in England. But perhaps the copestone of dissatisfaction, because it affected the great majority of the people in the tenderness of their religious principles, was the restoration of lay patronage in 1712, which carried dismay into the ranks of the Church. It was resented as a piece of mischievous legislation, a violation of the Revolution Settlement of 1690, and a breach of the Treaty of Union. The effect was, if not to throw the ministers of the Church into the ranks of the Jacobites, to at least make common cause with them in opposition to the Union. The few of them who still preferred the anomalous position to the chance of having a Papistical Stewart King found themselves deserted by their hearers, who waited upon the ordinances of those who preached against the treaty with the same zeal with which they had formerly magnified the Covenant. So hostile was the feeling throughout the country against the Union, that, as Lockhart says,

<sup>&</sup>quot;There was scarce one of a thousand that did not now declare for the King; nay, the Presbyterians and Cameronians were

willing to pass over the objection of his being a Papist; for said they (according to their predestinating principles) God may convert him, or he may have Protestant children, but the Union can never be good."

This feeling of discontent and dishonour was almost universal, all classes of men sharing the humiliationthe proud nobles at being stripped of their legislative privileges; the clergy apprehensive for their own system of Church discipline; the lawyers aggrieved at the idea of having their decrees reviewed by the House of Lords; the merchants and traders at having two boards of Customs and Excise, the officers of which were for the most part Englishmen; and over all the humiliation of seeing the independence of the country merged under the government of England. So great was the discontent and so pronounced the dissatisfaction that a counterrevolution seemed inevitable to place on the throne of Scotland James Francis Edward, the only surviving son of James II.; and had it not been for the opportune death of Queen Anne, according to Bolingbroke, the restoration of the Stewarts would have been assured both in England and in Scotland. The chances of the Chevalier de St. George, however, were greatly diminished by the death of the Queen and by the accession of George I., a Protestant by birth and conviction. Inspired by the hope of more favourable treatment under the new reign, the bulk of Presbyterians and the Whig party generally cast in their lot with the House of Hanover, to the great chagrin of the Jacobites, who, in the words of Wodrow, "seem to be thunder-struck and many of them are laying about."

Disconcerting as the situation was at home, the supporters of the "Rightful King" were indeed "thunderstruck" when the intelligence reached them that they could no longer depend on the assistance of France, since under the Treaty of Utrecht Louis XIV. recognised the succession of the Elector of Hanover to the Crown of Great Britain, and had so informed James when on the death of Queen Anne he called upon him at Paris to remind him of his promise to place him on the throne

of his ancestors. Stricken dumb by these untoward circumstances, they could but behold with silent contempt the explosive joy of the Whigs in the booming of guns, ringing of bells, and fantastic illuminations that attended the proclamation of George I. in Edinburgh. Yet, amid this exhibition of hilarious delight, when the Duchess of Argyll in the rapture of loyalty danced a reel with Baillie John Campbell, there was a widespread feeling of dissatisfaction charged with the gravest possibilities for the future.

In the spring of 1715 it was apparent that action in favour of the exiled House was on foot. Edinburgh swarmed with Jacobites, and saddles were being manufactured in hot haste for the use of dragoons. "The vanity, insolence, arrogance, and madness of the Jacobites is beyond all measure insupportable. I believe they must be let blood." So wrote a Whig, little dreaming that the challenge would speedily be accepted. Lord Ogilvy, a student in his first year at the Edinburgh University, like the race from which he had sprung, immediately caught the infection, and, riding home to Cortachy, announced his purpose to defend the honour of his father and the ideal of his House.

Born in 1698, James, Lord Ogilvy, when he took the field and dared the risks and dangers of battle, had just completed his seventeenth year. An amiable youth, of bright intellect, courtly manner, open-hearted and impressionable, with all that love of adventure which he had inherited in his blood, he was the type of man to cherish the traditions of the family and respond to them. Educated at the Grammar School of Dundee under a tutor, he was a diligent pupil, devoted to his studies, and made good progress. An affectionate boy, he was warmly attached to his parents, dutiful, and of a fine temper of mind. Only one of his letters has been preserved, but it reflects a nice disposition and a kindly spirit. In this letter to the Earl of Airlie, at the age of eleven, dated "Dundee, 7th January 1709," he wrote:

"My Lord/

The account I've got of your Lordship's welfare yields me the greatest satisfaction. I pray God continue the same. I heartily thank your Lo/ that you was pleas'd to mind me on Hansel Monday, and by God's assistance I shall endeavour to acquit myself the best I can for you in the diligent applying myself to my book. I am, My Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant

My brother is well and we jointly wish your Lordship a Good New Year."

Besides his intellectual studies, as was the custom of the period, and especially after the passing of the Act of Security—which, it is recorded, "was discussed in the Estates of Parliament with the sword at hand and frequently the hand upon the sword"-Lord Ogilvy attended the Military School to learn and practise the use of arms and the methods of warfare. Like a duckling to the water, he took readily to the sword, for, having been so long bred in the bone, it came to him by way of second nature. An apt pupil, he became an expert swordsman, which stood him in good stead sooner, perhaps, than he expected. Reared in an atmosphere hostile to the Union, for the House of Airlie, like that of Strathmore, was opposed to the sacrifice of the independence of the country in support of which the Ogilvys had fought so strenuously for nearly six hundred years; and nursed in the spirit of loyalty to the Stewarts. which was the irrevocable tradition of his family-what more natural for a high-spirited youth with the hot blood of a fighting ancestry coursing through his veins than that he should, with all that disregard of consequences and abandonment of high-strung romantic sentiment, throw himself heart and soul into the patriotic campaign of the Legitimists for the restoration of the "Rightful King" to the seat of honour and authority?

The Jacobite movement is generally described as a "Rebellion," but this is neither true to the facts of the case nor a fair reflection of the spirit and attitude of those who participated in it. It is unfair to classify as rebels a body of men who acted from motives of the

purest patriotism and in the most ardent loyalty to the historical traditions of the country. At the time when the movement originated, as David Hume points out, "an impartial patriot towards the close of the reign of Queen Anne might have found it difficult to decide whether a Stewart or a Hanoverian succession was in the best interests of the country." Neither is it just to describe James as "the Pretender," since "with such a specious title as that of blood" his claim to the throne "was clear and undisputed." The only objection to his succession was in respect of his religious faith, and had he cared to abjure his Catholic doctrines in favour of Protestantism he would have been hailed in both countries as their rightful Sovereign. The Jacobite campaign was really an attempt to promote an act of justice -so far as Scotland was concerned, a legitimate aspiration, as it was the logical consequence of the Act of Security passed by the Estates. With a capable leader of military genius such as the Marquis of Montrose, there is no saying what might not have been effected in 1715, but in the hands of the Earl of Mar—vacillating, undecided, and timorous—the movement was doomed from the start.

Lord Ogilvy and his cousin, the young Earl of Strathmore, with their uncle, Patrick Lyon of Auchterhouse, were early in the field. Recruiting in the Glens of Clova, Prosen, and Isla, the first-named led a large body of his clan to the standard of Lord Panmure, who had been commissioned to command the men of Angus, while the retainers of Glamis and Auchterhouse provided a substantial addition. On 6th September, 1715, the Earl of Mar proclaimed "Our rightful and natural King James VIII." at Braemar. Lord Panmure having made a similar proclamation at Brechin and the Earl of Southesk at Montrose, the Angus contingent marched to Dunkeld to join the Highland forces there, which, on their junction, composed a considerable army. The city of Perth having been seized without warning by a brother of the Earl of Kinnoull, the Jacobites had free access and occupied it as their headquarters, where, in

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the course of a fortnight, their numbers were increased by the contingents of the Marquis of Huntly, the Earl of Seaforth, and the Earl-Marischal to over twelve thousand. A capable leader in the circumstances would have struck at once, as only eighteen hundred Government troops were in the country at the time. By their initial inactivity the Jacobites played into the hands of the Government, who, given time, were not slow to profit by the opportunity. The Duke of Argyll, Commanderin-Chief of the Forces in Scotland, next to the Duke of Marlborough, under whom he had served, was regarded as the greatest Commander of his day, and besides, being a Whig statesman, a pronounced Presbyterian, and a strenuous supporter of the House of Hanover, his appointment as General of the Government troops gave great satisfaction to the body of sentiment in favour of George I., while it was enthusiastically received by the army itself. He arrived at Stirling. where a month earlier General Wightman had taken up a position with eighteen hundred men in order to intercept the roads leading from the Grampians, and, with the reinforcements, took over the command of an army not exceeding four thousand, but all well-trained and seasoned troops. He thus blocked the passage of the main army of the insurgents, and prevented them making a junction with their compatriots operating in the south. On learning that the Earl of Mar was on the march from Perth, the Duke of Argyll moved north to Dunblane. The Jacobite army, numbering sixteen thousand, in high spirit and flushed with the consciousness of their superior strength, and animated by the feeling that their cause was just and their aspirations legitimate, went forth to do battle in the belief that their triumph alone would bring peace to the nation. As the song put it:

"The Church is in ruins, the State is in jars,
Delusions, oppressions, and murderous wars:
We daurna weel say't, but we ken wha's to blame,—
There'll never be peace till Jamie comes hame."

On 12th November the armies came within sight of each other on ground which the Duke of Argyll had

selected as favourable to his design, his left at the village of Dunblane and his right towards Sherriffmuir; but an enemy numbering four to one had a great advantage. and if only the Jacobites had been under a leader of the capacity of the Commander of the royal army a different tale would fall to be recorded. As it was, the clans, with Glengary and Clanronald at their head, charged the left of the King's forces with such impetuosity and disregard of life as only the Highlanders knew, that in seven minutes both horse and foot were totally routed with great slaughter; the General in command, fleeing at full gallop to Stirling, declared that they were utterly defeated. Meanwhile the Commanderin-Chief on the right had in front of him the men of Angus, the Gordons, and the Seaforths, and after a keen fight drove them as far as the Allan Water; yet, time and again they wheeled round to the attack, in one of which the Earl of Strathmore and his uncle, Patrick Lyon, were killed-Lord Ogilvy, who fought by the side of his cousin, having a narrow escape. Hostilities ceased on the fall of darkness. The Duke of Argyll retired to Stirling and the Earl of Mar to Ardoch, both claiming the victory. Their losses were nearly equal, and if the right of one army carried all before it, the right of the other was equally successful.

But there now happened to the Earl of Mar what the Marquis of Montrose so often experienced in the Civil War—the melting away of his army, which not even the arrival of "Our rightful and natural King James VIII." was sufficient to prevent. His leadership was recognised to be hopeless. On one pretence or another, his chief supporters left him; the Marquis of Huntly, the Earl of Seaforth, and the Marquis of Tullibardine to defend their own territories, while the clans, seeing no likelihood of another action, began to disperse according to custom. Lord Ogilvy, in the buoyancy of his youth and the ardour of his loyalty, while the coming of the Prince engaged him for a time and he joined in the sumptuous welcome extended to him at Glamis Castle, when, it is said, no fewer than eighty beds were prepared in the

Castle for his reception—he, too, saw the hopelessness of the situation, and, retiring from the ranks, made his

escape to France.

The death of Patrick Lyon made it possible to realise a long-cherished ambition of the Airlie family to repossess themselves of the home of their ancestors. Auchterhouse, it may be remembered, passed by the failure of the male line in 1472 to James Stewart, first Earl of Buchan, who married the only daughter and heiress of Sir Alexander Ogilvy. In this family the barony remained till, on 21st April, 1619, James, Earl of Moray, succeeding to the earldom of Buchan, entered into possession of Auchterhouse. About thirty years later, on 15th June, 1648, Patrick, then Earl of Kinghorne, purchased "the half-lands of Auchterhouse," which he sold again on 12th May, 1663, to the Earl of Panmure. At this time speculation in land began to be a business. Many who were identified with the landed interest saw that in the general improvement of agriculture and the increased flow of money in the country, land would grow in value; and no one was quicker to appreciate this brighter outlook than Patrick, now Earl of Strathmore, who, on 29th October, 1695, a few weeks before he died, bought the whole lands of the barony of Auchterhouse, which he granted to Patrick Lyon, his second son, and brother to Grizel, Countess of Airlie. The opportunity was too good to neglect, and although the Airlie exchequer had so far recovered from the heavy penalties of the Civil War and the Commonwealth, it was not sufficiently replenished to make such a considerable purchase as that of the lands of Auchterhouse which now came into the market. But the longing to be in possession once again of the heritage of their fathers was so ardent a tradition that ways and means were found. The Earl of Airlie, in 1716, in order to avail himself of the chance that had come his way, sold the lands of Glenprosen to James Kinloch of Kilry as a temporary convenience, on condition and with the stipulation that he could not expose them for sale without the sanction of the Earl of Airlie for the time being,

and also, in event of the representative of the House of Airlie at any time being in the position or desirous to repossess himself of these lands, he was bound to sell them at market value. And so it came to pass that after the lapse of two hundred and fifty years, like the return of a lost child to his parents, Auchterhouse, where the ancestors of the Ogilvys of Airlie and Inverquharity were cradled, came into the family again.

The Earl of Airlie, never robust, was greatly shocked that his son and heir had gone into exile, and his sorrow was aggravated when by Act of Parliament he was attainted for high treason and debarred from succeeding to the family honours. He made a will dated 22nd March, 1716, and died in 1717, at the age of seventy-three; the Countess of Airlie surviving him by twenty-two years and dying at Cortachy in 1739.

# JOHN, FOURTH EARL OF AIRLIE

At the death of the Earl of Airlie matters were in a peculiar position. Inasmuch as the attainder was personal to Lord Ogilvy, neither the earldom nor the estates were affected. On the demise of his father there was nothing to prevent him succeeding to the estates, but by Act of Parliament he was debarred from assuming the title. As he was a minor, according to the terms of his father's will, the lands of Airlie were held in trust till he should either attain majority or recover his liberty to return to Scotland and take possession. He came of age in 1719, but it was not till 1725, largely through the good office of Louis XV. and on account of his youth at the time of the insurrection, that he obtained a pardon and remission from the Crown. In the autumn of that year he returned to Cortachy, to the great delight of the inhabitants of the surrounding district, after nearly ten years of exile. The people generally admired his courage and bravery, and even those who might differ from him honoured him for his sacrifice for the principles and the traditions of his House. He was known in his day, and appears in all the family documents and records, as Earl of Airlie, but it was only titular, held and given by courtesy, not acknowledged by the Court. at which he was forbidden to appear, and, to judge from his attitude, which he would be slow to acknowledge. The remission from the Crown, however, if it did not legally enable him to assume the title, gave him permission to succeed to the estates.

Shortly after his return he took up his residence at Auchterhouse, where, with a house in Edinburgh at which during the winter months he stayed, he continued to reside till the eve of his marriage. At the Parish

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Church of Auchterhouse, on 13th December, 1730, the following proclamation was made:

"This day ye Right Honourable James, Earl of Airly and Mrs. Anne Erskine, lawful daughter to My Lord Dun, were proclaimed in order to marriage."

The marriage contract is dated 17th December, 1730, and 11th January, 1731. Anne Erskine was the daughter of David Erskine of Dun, a Lord of Session. The marriage took place on 16th December, 1730, amid great rejoicing in Edinburgh, as the bridegroom was well known in the capital and exceedingly popular, while the bride, of a distinguished Angus family, was a social favourite. As reminiscent of old Scottish customs, the following account of his valet may be interesting, which refers to the practice on the night preceding the wedding ceremony of the friends of the bridegroom meeting for the "feet-washing," now almost a memory of bygone days.

"For Bay Love at the washing of My Loards	
Feet	1d.
For Neals to put up ye Sconces on ye Marage	
Night	1d.
For two Freanch Love afore ye marage night	2d.
For Gall afore My Loard was maired	1/7d.
For a Coach man for My Loard	1/6d.
For a Cadie for My Loard	1 <del>1</del> d.
For a Chayr for My Loard	$2/\tilde{6}d$ .
For a Ston Mustard Box	3d."

In one calendar month from the date of his marriage a series of accounts of a different nature and description were rendered, dated 16th January, 1731. On 11th January the marriage contract was signed, and on the morning of the 12th the titular Earl of Airlie, still in the flush of youthful manhood, gay of spirit, redolent of kindly feeling, and radiant with the hope of a bright and happy future, was found to have died suddenly. In "a fine Wainscott Coffin, done with mouldings and lined with silk, with rings of the finest polished Iron work and cords of silk," the body was removed on the 14th to the Abbey Church, where it lay in state. At the height

of the Edinburgh season, when many of the nobility and most of the country gentry were in town, the tragic death in such painful circumstances came as a great shock. For two days and nights the Abbey Church was thronged by a great concourse of people obedient to the custom of "viewing the body," especially at night during the illuminations. The account for this part of the ceremony gives an idea of the scene:

8/-
,
£1.3.4
£1.0.0
<b>.</b>
11/4
2/10
; .
2/10
8d.

On the 16th January, 1731, exactly a month from the date of the marriage, the titular Earl of Airlie was buried in the Chapel Royal of Holyrood House. The title having been dormant since the death of his father in 1717, was revived on the succession of his brother John, who became fourth Earl of Airlie. Born at Cortachy in 1699, on attaining majority, he took over the management of the Airlie estates till Lord Ogilvy's return from exile. This he had done so satisfactorily that the latter expressed the wish that he should continue in charge of his affairs, giving him the occupancy of Cortachy Castle. It would seem from the following letter that he was somewhat reluctant to do so, no doubt preferring that his brother should himself assume authority and control:

"Edinburgh, 25th March 1728.

"Wee have received yours by the hand of Mr. Mercer and note what you say on the matter, but as you acted with equity and candour in the affairs of your Brother, wee have noe doubt but you will still continue in the same regard that ought to be shown to your brother and representative of so noble a family."

As he was a shrewd man of business, trained under the capable management of the Countess of Airlie, and had all the details of the business at his ready disposal, at the earnest entreaty of his brother he agreed to continue. little dreaming that his stewardial authority would give place so soon to actual possession. Early in 1723, the contract bearing the date 5th December, 1722, he married Margaret, eldest daughter and heiress of David Ogilvy of Cluny, thus, like so many of his ancestors, bringing into the family as a valuable addition to its heritage the estate of Cluny in the Stormonth with its fine old castle and loch. This intermingling of the Ogilvy blood may readily suggest the possibility of romantic happenings in the issue, and if such expectation is aroused it will be amply fulfilled, and in luscious profusion. Of the fruit of the marriage there were two sons and two daughters-David and Walter, Elizabeth and Helen, the latter being married at Edinburgh, 4th March, 1759, to Roger Robertson of Ladykirk. Inasmuch as both sons came into the succession, they have thus a claim of equal merit for separate and particular treatment; but as neither of them attained to the family honours, through circumstances which now fall to be described, it may be advisable to deal with them under their father's title. and especially as any further allusion to the Earl of Airlie is necessarily connected with the career of his elder son.

The aftermath of 1715, so far from intimidating the Legitimists in their attempt to restore the lineal succession in the House of Stewart and to break the Parliamentary settlement of the Elector of Hanover, only confirmed them in their resolution, should a suitable opportunity arise, to try again if haply they might organise victory out of defeat in a cause that lay so close to their hearts and which they considered just. Sensible that their first attempt had failed, not for want of spirit but through lack of capability in their leader, they naturally indulged the hope that with better organisation and a commander of some military genius they might retrieve their fortune, and, on the chance of a rising tide of

public opinion in their favour, gain the object of their ambition. Sherriffmuir was so much a drawn battle, that the Jacobites could hardly be blamed for cherishing the desire, so natural to brave and loyal patriots, "to live and fight another day." Their policy was to watch and wait. The experience of the United Parliament so far had not been an unqualified success. Both in respect to legislation and the administration of the country, the predominant partner had been inconsiderate in many ways of the traditions and sentiments of the Scottish people, which had not only created an atmosphere of dissatisfaction but had been bitterly resented. To judge by the past, there was no saying what the future might not have in store to stimulate their aspirations, and if so, they might be relied upon to make the most of it. They had not long to wait. The excessive penalties and forfeitures following the outbreak were such as Lord-Advocate Forbes, a Whig by conviction and family tradition, predicted "would infallibly lay the foundation of another." The punishment of the prisoners taken in England had followed quickly upon their arrest without thought of mercy. Great numbers, and among them many of the nobility, had been publicly executed, while others, like the Earl of Nithsdale, the Earl of Winton, and Mackintosh of Borlum, who had been doomed to the same fate, as showing the undercurrent of sympathetic feeling in official quarters, by connivance of the prison authorities made their escape. But the feeling in Scotland, relieved by the sudden collapse of the attempt to set the Chevalier de St. George on the throne, while it lamented the resort to extreme measures in England. was roused into angry hostility when it was proposed by the English lawyers that the prisoners taken at Sherriffmuir and elsewhere north of the Tweed should, instead of being tried in their own country where the treason was committed, as the law required, be sent to England. Whig and Tory alike were opposed to the proposition as an insult to the nation and derogatory of its respect for justice, and it is believed that, partly at least on account of his opposition to the projected measure, the Duke

of Argvll suffered that disgrace which so astounded his compatriots. However, although the Government insisted on their policy and transported a batch of prisoners from Edinburgh to Carlisle, they were left in no manner of doubt as to the temper of Scotsmen of all classes and political colour, who straightway organised a defence fund to which all sections and parties contributed, even the hangman of the Tolbooth sending a subscription; so that, notwithstanding the Act of Parliament legalising the trial, the authorities at length became apprehensive of executing severe punishment in such a highly fevered state of public opinion, with the result that while many were acquitted, not one of those who were condemned suffered the extreme penalty. This favourable breeze of public sentiment was not lost on the Jacobites, who gathered additional comfort when they saw how the Parliamentary Commission to deal with forfeited estates was received in the country. Instead of adopting the advice of the Lord-Advocate to pardon the proprietors and to be content with a fine, the estates of attainted persons were declared forfeited to the Crown, and vested in trustees to be sold for the benefit of the public. The Commission itself was everywhere regarded as an outrage on national feeling, since of the six members constituting that body four were Englishmen absolutely ignorant of the abstruse technicalities of Scots law and procedure. Without entering into the long story of its dealing with these estates and the miserable failures that ensued, it was a striking example of how one may take a horse to the water but he cannot force him to drink. The tenants on the Earl of Seaforth's forfeited estates, instead of accounting for the rents to the collector nominated by Government, paid them to a factor appointed among themselves; and for the purpose of being sent to his lordship in France, four hundred of the clan escorted the money to Edinburgh to see it safely lodged in the bank. Others were equally loyal to their exiled chiefs, who took occasion to keep alive among their followers the principles of Jacobitism to such an extent and purpose that the Government, in

1718, conceived the notion of taking proceedings against the fugitives. Under the wing of the English law of treason a Commission was sent down and began its sittings at Perth, afterwards perambulating the counties, but, with the exception of Cupar-Fife, though the fullest proof was produced against the several persons accused, every jury obdurately refused to find the required bill, so that the work of the Commission had to be abandoned. These and such-like exhibitions of the national temper caused the Jacobite party to take heart of grace and indulge sanguine hopes for the future.

In 1715, but for the disaster to the Swedish fleet that year, Charles XII., who had a long-standing grudge against George I. for having possessed himself of the duchies of Bremen and Verden, might have proved a useful ally to the supporters of the exiled dynasty, since in revenge he had vowed to dethrone the Elector of Hanover and replace the heir of the House of Stewart on the throne. Still cherishing his ambitious scheme, in 1718 he entered into a formal alliance with Cardinal Alberoni of Spain to effect his purpose, but as he was killed towards the close of the year the Swedish arm of the venture miscarried, leaving Spain to face the hazard single-handed. The project was twofold: to invade England by the fleet, and to land a force on the western Highlands to raise the clans. As in the attack of the Great Armada, so now, a storm at sea, which rose into a hurricane, wrought such havoc with ships and men that, the damage being irreparable, the expedition was abandoned. The minor part of the plan so far succeeded as to make a landing on the island of Lewis on 8th March, 1719, and with over three hundred troops of the regular army of Spain, the exiled Jacobites, the Earl-Marischal, the Earl of Seaforth, and the Marquis of Tullibardine set themselves the task of raising the fiery cross, but to little purpose, as already the destruction of the fleet was widely known throughout the Highlands; and while the Frasers, the Munros, and the Sutherlands were in opposition, most of the chiefs who were sympathetic in principle were deterred by the too recent memories of the

'15 from embarking on a campaign that had so little to commend it: with the result that the Government force had no difficulty in quelling the attempted insurrection. Both sides seem to have misinterpreted the events to which allusion has been made, and this misunderstanding of their meaning and significance led both of them into that train of action which ultimately brought about the serious conflict of 1745. While the Government rashly concluded from the failure to respond to the call to arms in 1719 that the cause of Jacobitism was dead. the Jacobites drew an equally erroneous conclusion from the dissatisfaction of the Scottish people with the Government measures that the body of sympathy was in their favour. Thus, ignoring the Jacobites as a negligible element of the body politic, the Government rode rough-shod over public opinion, while the Jacobites construed the hostility of the people as a desire for a change to their ancient rulers. The Hanoverian Ministers laboured under a false security, for while General Wade reported to Headquarters of the peaceful state of the Highlands, and boasted that, instead of the Highlanders going about armed with swords, dirks, and pistols, they now travelled to church and market with only a staff in their hand, he was ignorant of the many thousand weapons, landed from the Spanish frigates in 1719 or otherwise introduced into the country, that lay concealed in caverns and other secret places ready for use when occasion should offer. And now there followed a series of measures the effect of which the Jacobites were careful to exploit for the purpose of serving their own ends. The feeling incensed at the time of the Union by the appointment as officers of revenue of something like ninety per cent. of Englishmen had to a large extent died down; but it came again to the surface in an aggravated form on the proposal to impose taxation on commodities that hitherto had escaped such burden. It was apparently necessary if Scotland was to bear her share of the cost of maintaining the institutions of the kingdom. Sir Robert Walpole, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed to levy 6d. a barrel on ale in Scotland

—on his part a modest attempt "to pluck the fowl without making it cry"; but as the voice of the people was both loud and deep in the volume of its opposition, and determined to resist, it was at first lowered and ultimately abandoned; but not before Glasgow had broken out in serious riots. In its place he substituted a tax on malt, informing the Scottish Members of Parliament—who, it may be said, received ten pounds a week out of the public purse to meet their expenses in London—that, unless the required revenue were forthcoming, they would "have to tie their stockings with their own garters." The one tax was not a whit less unpopular than the other, nor was the spirit of the people less defiant. To hazard the supply or to increase the cost of liquor at a time when the convivial habits of the Scot could face the picture—

"Wha first shall rise to gang awa', A cuckold, coward loon is he; Wha last beside his chair shall fa', He is the King amang us three"

—was a dangerous enterprise. The temper was inflamed; the wildest passion broke loose; and resistance was universal. The law was to be defied:

"We'll mak our maut, we'll brew our drink, We'll laugh, sing, and rejoice, man; And mony braw thanks to the muckle black de'il That danced awa' wi' th' exciseman."

These thorny questions of fiscal policy, common to all civilised nations, were thus made the cause of much strife and resentment, and gave rise to the inveterate trade of smuggling. As import duties were imposed on tea, brandy, and wine, to bring such commodities to port without paying tribute to Government was hailed as a task worthy of esteem, which all classes from the peer to the cottar, save those engaged in the traffic, were ever willing to aid; and especially along the east coast, where Jacobitism was strong, the smuggler was rewarded as a champion of Scottish nationality. The clashing of the interests of this contraband trade with the fiscal author-

ities, as showing on which side the sympathies of the people lay, has been made known the world wide by the genius of Sir Walter Scott in "The Heart of Midlothian." The "Porteous Riots" in Edinburgh with their tragic result were a great affront to Government authority, in regard to which it is reported that Queen Caroline, who, in the absence of George II. on one of his frequent visits to the Continent, was acting as Regent, in the height of her displeasure, said to the Duke of Argyll that "sooner than submit to such an insult I will make Scotland a hunting-field."

In addition to these sources of dissatisfaction two other facts may be mentioned as contributory causes of discontent—the unpopularity of the first two Georges and of Walpole's administration. In respect to the former. neither of them concealed the partiality of their affection for their paternal dominions, which, with great appearance of truth, caused their British subjects to accuse them of being more devoted to the interests of the Electorate than to those of the Empire over which they had been called to reign. As to the latter, Sir Robert Walpole, a man of coarse mind who could not appreciate so delicate a sentiment as patriotism, holding rather the opinion that every man had his price, made no effort to conciliate Jacobite feeling, but, on the contrary, threw up every possible barrier against it; excluding from the Bar and the Army such families as were suspected of a lurking sympathy for the Stewarts. The consequence was that the sons of these families in many cases, as in the House of Airlie, joined foreign service and drew closer their attachment to the exiled family, which, had circumstances been otherwise, they might have seen fit to drop. As it was, it now became a simple question of opportunity. The will was there. As in 1715, so now the literature of the day was a clear indication of the hopes of Jacobitism. If the name was changed, the spirit was the same. "Wha'll be King but Charlie?"; "The King shall enjoy his ain again"; "We'll awa' to Shirramuir and haud the Whigs in order"; "Come o'er the stream, Charlie."

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"The Highland Clans wi' sword in hand, Frae John o' Groats to Airly, Hae to a man declared to stand Or fa' wi' Royal Charlie."

The situation to which the Jacobites had looked forward had arisen. On 20th March, 1744, France declared war against Great Britain, and on 11th May, 1745, the flower of the British army was cut off at Fontenoy. "The stroke is struck," said Charles Edward Stewart; "I have taken a firm resolution to conquer or to die." Five weeks later he sailed on board the Doutelle with the "seven men of Moidart," and disembarked in the country of the MacDonalds. In the same week there landed at the port of Dundee from a trading-vessel from France a bright and enthusiastic spirit, full-hearted, and loyal to the traditions and ideal of his House-a young soldier who had gone, as his forefathers had done before him, to the military school of that country to learn the use of arms and the art of war, if perchance he might be, as so many of his ancestors had been, of service to his country-

# DAVID, LORD OGILVY OF AIRLIE

Of the long line of Ogilvys whose story has been told, no more attractive or kindly personality studs the pages of their history than that of David of the '45. So unaffected and human, simple, artless, free, affable, and with a candour that refreshes like a breeze from the ocean, he was the soul of honour, and whatever failings he had were the offspring of his good-nature and jovial spirit, and in all cases "leaned to virtue's side." If action exhilarated him, hardship did not depress him, nor did misfortune cloud his brow, sour the temper of his mind, or embitter his thoughts. Warm-hearted to a degree, he was the embodiment of friendship; and, ever cheerful, even in the long years of exile he never parted with his good-humour. Broad-minded and generous to a fault, he was yet firm, steadfast, and resolute of purpose; while on a matter of principle, as will be seen, he could be unbending and inflexible—it may be thought by some, unreasonably hard and unforgiving. He was a happy combination of the two illustrious members of his House; having the strength of character and will of the first Earl, and the "hail-fellow-well-met" disposition of the second.

Born at Cortachy Castle on 15th February, 1725, while the earldom was in abeyance, he was six years of age when he succeeded to the title of Lord Ogilvy on his father's succession to that of Earl of Airlie. Reared in an atmosphere of loyal attachment to the exiled House of Stewart, the lullaby that soothed the fretfulness of his childhood years were the plaintive notes of Jacobite songs, whose soft and wooing melody hushed his wanton disposition and charmed an ear that by nature was keenly susceptible to musical sounds. The hills and the glens near Cortachy, and the river within stone-throw of the Castle, were the delight of the errant fancy of his boyhood and youth, and his buoyant nature expanded before the glorious images of the one and the sober cadence and mirthful sport of the other. He was docile, tractable, and warmly affectionate. He loved society and was quick to make friendships. He dearly loved animals, and was passionately fond of his pony, which a neighbour had picked up at a "Fair" for "four pounds," and wrote to the Earl of Airlie that, being "a quiet naig," he thought it would suit Lord Ogilvy till he could get a better, or carry the Lady a short distance." At the age of ten he went for his education to Perth, where he was boarded with a tutor, and there he remained four years. He was an apt pupil, making rapid progress in classics and general learning, so that before he attained his fifteenth year he entered the University of Aberdeen, which, apart from its academic standing, was then a centre of Jacobite sentiment. Two sessions were spent at this seminary and two delightful seasons, when his serious studies were interspersed with friendly visits to the mansions along the Dee and the Don, where he was an immense favourite on account of his free manner, his song and laughter, and happy camaraderie.



DAVID, LORD OGILVY OF AIRLIE.

From portrait at Cortachy Castle.)

He was an attractive youth—tall, well-built, handsome; with long dark auburn hair falling in curls to the shoulder and fastened at the back in the fashion of the period; a complexion inclining to swarthy, and dark blue eves that were radiant with good-humour and expressive of a mind that was a stranger to melancholv. Gay of spirit, light of heart, he was the soul of roystering youth, and if with nothing of hauteur was never forgetful of his high station. In after-years he was known in France and throughout the French Army as "Le Bel Écossais." But beyond all the other impulses of his heart, like his great contemporary in another walk of life, was "un penchant à l'adorable moitié du genre humain." With the other sex he was esteemed for his gallantry. Passionately fond of their society, his heart was "completely tinder, and was eternally lighted up by some goddess or other." The Earl of Perth, in a pamphlet entitled "The Female Rebels," published in 1747. has put on record that-

"When he came to the Capital, he was soon drawn to follow the youthful gallantries of the Town. Before he was much out of puberty, he had run through all the various scenes of gallantry, and could early boast of wounds in the field of Venus. He was a universal admirer of the fair sex, and delighted much in intrigues with women of the better sort. He never saw a handsome woman but he made love to her, which he carried as far as he found her complexion would admit of, and had of these kind of mistresses more in number than he had changes of cloathes in his wardrobe; a new face set him on fire and he was never easy till he knew if she was 'come-at-able' as he termed it."

He met his fate in unexpected fashion. In the autumn of 1742 he went to Edinburgh to study logic and metaphysics and attend a course of lectures on the subject of Constitutional Law. A very good discipline is the study of mental science, while the art and the laws of reasoning have the wonderful effect of concentrating the faculties of the mind; but Lord Ogilvy did not allow himself to assimilate this healthful process to the calling in of his wandering thoughts. As yet, Edinburgh was

the centre of gravity of the nobility and gentry of Scotland. Many of them had their winter quarters there, and most of them went there for "the season." The great social function was the festival of St. Andrew. which was observed, not by religious services or in the spirit of prayer and fasting, but in mirth and dancing. At this season there was a great assembly of the élite of the nation. Among others who had come to town for the occasion was Margaret, daughter of Sir James Johnston of Westerhall, Dumfriesshire, and niece of Lord Elibank. She stayed with her aunt, Miss Johnston of Hawkhill, a property on the outskirts of old Edinburgh that she inherited and on which she resided—a well-known character in her day in society circles of the capital. A strong-minded person, she was opinionative and self-assertive, dogmatical and critical. The story is told of her that, on the death of her brother, his widow had proposed to sell off the old furniture of Westerhall, at which she was highly indignant, being warmly attached to it from old associations. The proposal, however, was arrested by the death of her sister-in-law, or, as she described it, "The furniture was a' to be roupit, and we couldna persuade her. But before the sale cam on, in God's providence, she jist clinkit aff hersell." Miss Johnston, however, though she may have been disappointed in love, or it may be had never experienced the glamour of a mutual affection, was not averse—perhaps for that reason all the more inclined to promote the happiness of her niece, to whom she was ardently devoted. And little wonder, as Margaret Johnston had the reputation of being the toast of the occasion. Above the average height, stately, and of queenly grace, she was a conspicuous figure in that galaxy of beauty. Lord Ogilvy, susceptible, impressionable, was transported by the vision, and, in beatific phrase, "immediately fell down and worshipped the Two days after the ball, still short of his image." seventeenth year by two months, he contracted an irregular marriage, an elopement, with Margaret Johnston, who was his senior by only three months.

At first the young couple agreed that it should be kept secret, but Lord Ogilvy's visits to Hawkhill requiring an explanation, Miss Johnston had to be taken into their confidence. At length it was agreed to discover the situation to Lord Elibank and supplicate his intercession with the Earl of Airlie. As it was, he was on the point of leaving for London, but he undertook to write from there. In the interval, of candid mind Lord Ogilvy, who hitherto had given a full account of all his doings to his parents, now determined to unbosom the secret to his father, and wrote accordingly. The reply of the Earl of Airlie has not been preserved, but the tenor of it may be gathered from Lord Ogilvy's reply:

"Edinburgh, 27th December 1742.

#### DEAR PAPA:

I am very sensible of your goodness in writing me at all and shall alwise retain the highest gratitude of the favour. You mentioned in your letter that we shou'd live together and board in some place, but as that woud be quite giving up my education, I hop, my dear papa, that you wont press it for some time at least; but let me go on as formerly for this session and I give you my word that, instead of laying aside my books, I shall double my diligence; for there is nothing I have so much at heart as the completing of my education. According to your desire I have wrote to Sir James Johnston about the contract, but as the return of the letter is not as yet come back I can say nothing till then upon that head. The reason why Mr. Jamieson did not come was that I prevailed upon him to stay till you was pleas'd to write again, because I wanted it to be kept secret if possible and his going of so suddenly would have discovered it to all the world."

By the time Lord Elibank's letter reached Cortachy Castle the business had been settled. Lord Ogilvy was allowed to have his own way. He remained in the house of the "Doctor of Theology," one of the city ministers of Edinburgh, while Lady Ogilvy returned to her home in Dumfriesshire till such time as she should join her husband at Cortachy. Lord Elibank's letter, however, inasmuch as he was a great celebrity of his day, one of the master-minds in the literature of the eighteenth

century which made the Scottish school illustrious, may be given:

"London, 8th January 1743.

To the Earl of Airlie.

Some days ago I had a letter from my Lord Ogilvy telling me of a youthful step he has taken in disposing of himself in marriage without your Lordship's knowledge, and desiring me to intercede with your Lordship for pardon. Though I am altogether unequal to what his Lordship requires of me having the misfortune not to be personally known to your Lordship, yet, the justice everybody does your Lordship's character makes me flatter myself that you will forgive the liberty I take in representing to you that, as the thing is done and unalterable, it is prudent to make the best of it. We know that when we ourselves were young, we were liable to do imprudent things from the violence of our passions; and we must not wonder that our sons discover the same infirmity. The wisest and the greatest men in all ages have been the most susceptible of love and we may recollect many such in our country who have made rash marriages. [The next paragraph is so faded and torn as to be impossible of reconstruction, but the sense of it seems to be that he considers Lord Airlie incapable of using hard measures which might have a bad effect, and proceeds] I shall only add that Sir James Johnston is known to be a gentleman of as great honour, virtue, and goodsense as any of this country; and that this seeming misfortune may turn out to be to the satisfaction of all concerned is the earnest wish and prayer of My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant
ELIBANK."

Lord Ogilvy, now that the image of his heart was far removed from his society, settled down, as he had promised, to "double my diligence," and worked with a will at his logic and metaphysics. Towards the end of the session Lady Ogilvy joined him in Edinburgh, and together, on a pair of well-bred horses sent from the stud at Cortachy, they rode home to the Castle, where they received as kindly a welcome, as formerly their imprudent exploit had been heartily forgiven.

But the boy-husband, for whom the father had a strong affection, and now that he had become accustomed to the situation could not help being amused by it, was not

destined to have a lengthened association with his ladylove. He was only seventeen, and the principal part of his education lay in front of him. As the head of the House of the next generation of the family, the twentieth of the House of Airlie, according to tradition as by the necessity of the case, he was bound to be a soldier. Earl of Airlie, scorning allegiance to the German Guelphs and swearing eternal lovalty to the Norman Stewarts, would neither take the oath himself nor allow his son, had he been willing, to do so, and thus made it impossible, as it was for him unthinkable, for Lord Ogilvy to accept a commission in the British Army. Like so many others of the Jacobite persuasion, and at the same time following the family custom of over two hundred years' standing, he must go to France, learn soldiering there, explore the Continent, see and learn the wavs of life, have his eyes opened to the mighty problems of the great wide world, and by this means expand his mental horizon, stretch the curtain of his sentiments. and enlarge the scope of his ideas and experience of life. A commission in the French Army was now very fashionable among the sons of the Jacobite lords and gentry; for the "auld alliance" had still the attraction of old Stewart memories. And so, while Lord Ogilvy was frankly forgiven his youthful imprudence and was made to feel that he was reinstated in the affections of his parents, he was given to understand that he must pursue his military course of study, and in the autumn proceed to France for this purpose. And what a heartbreak! The Earl of Airlie had decided that he must go alone, and remain abroad till he attained his one-andtwentieth year. This was a cold douche to the young lovers, since it meant that for the next three years and more the "seas rough with black winds and storms" should separate them. They might in their limited knowledge of life regard it in the light of a punishment, but it was designed and it was, as it was meant to be, for their good. During the summer, as his account-book shows, the happy couple made a series of visits to Dupplin Castle, Stirling of Keir, and to Edinburgh, VOL. II 12

where they were present at "an assembly" and "attended the play." The valet's bills are carefully recorded:

"Payed for dressing Lord Ogilvy's watch 3/-:
Given Lord Ogilvy to pay for a Hawk's hood and bells— 10/6.

Given Lord Ogilvy for his expenses of assembly's Play, Drink money to Servants, and money for the Church on Sundays, as per his receipts £15.15.0."

In November, 1743, he sailed for France, Lady Ogilvy remaining at Cortachy. It was a time of great excitement in the French capital and of warlike feeling in the French Army. Six months before, George II., taking up the cause of Maria Theresa, with a combined army of English and Hanoverians, defeated the French at Dettingen. The two arms of the service, Army and Navy, were burning for revenge. Lord Ogilvy would find a great number of his compatriots in Paris, many of them fugitives from their native land, and most of them in the service of Louis XV. Whatever may have been the strength of his sentiments on Jacobitism before going abroad, it would be speedily intensified by his new associates, who were by resentment as by conviction all in favour of having "the auld Stewarts back again." He was impulsive, as our intercourse with him has shown: quick to receive impressions and as quick to act upon them. He would not require much persuasion. The fire was laid, and it only needed to be lighted to kindle into a blaze. With alacrity he entered the military school, and choosing the cavalry, after the manner of his House, he pursued his exercises and studies with great diligence and spirit. He was now known far and wide as "Le Bel Écossais." His great good-humour, his accessibility, his free-and-easy address, and his enthusiasm for all manly sports and pleasures, embellished by a fine and graceful presence, made him an object of attraction and a favourite in French circles. Of the many choice specimens of Scottish manhood then in Paris he was regarded as the flower of his countrymen. He made the acquaintance of Charles Edward

Stewart, grandson of James II. and VII., who, as his father's Regent, was already engaged in co-operation with Louis XV., initiating his plans for contesting the Crown of Britain. A different type of man from his father-who, in 1715, had been proclaimed "our rightful and natural King James VIII.," and described by the Earl of Mar "as a perfect Absalom for beauty and for manners, the finest gentleman I ever knew"; but to the general onlooker a sullen, stolid, awkward combination of galvanised matter which led many to ask: "Can it speak?"-Charles Edward, styling himself Prince of Wales, was a youth of tall stature and fair complexion, of a noble cast of features, courteous and affable in manner, of athletic build and action, and possessing those martial qualities so dear to the clans. With a touch of the autocratic spirit, the consequence of being educated in the doctrines of divine hereditary right and passive obedience, the source of the errors and the misfortunes of his grandfather, James II. of England, he impressed his followers with a sense of his power to lead and command. Besides, he was enthusiastic, courageous, and determined to succeed, and this spirit is always certain to gain recruits. For so inflammable a spirit as Lord Ogilvy to come in contact with Charles Edward was like adding fuel to the fire. Without hesitation, and without once reflecting on the chances of success or the consequences of failure, he offered his sword and put himself at the service of the Stewart cause. And thus it came to pass that no sooner had the Earl of Airlie heard of the landing of Charles in the western Highlands than there rode up to Cortachy Castle, in full armour and confident of his father's approval, Lord Ogilvv.

The time chosen for this insurrection was opportune enough. George II. was then in Hanover, the strength of the regular forces of Britain were engaged on the Continent, while the government of the country was vested in the hands of a Council of Regents. In all Scotland there were not quite three thousand troops exclusive of garrisons, while England was almost desti-

tute of soldiers, save one or two newly raised regiments. So far as Scottish affairs were concerned, these were left to the wisdom and discretion of the Marquis of Tweeddale, then Secretary of State. But the Jacobites were neither so enthusiastic nor so numerous as they were in 1715, and there were fewer wise heads in their councils. Lochiel, for one, on his first meeting with Charles, frankly regarded the project as "a rash scheme," and when at length he did embark on the expedition, he was warned by Lord Lovat to "expect many sour faces and sharp weapons in the south"; adding in excuse for his passive attitude "that it was a case of my head to an onion." Thirty years had wrought great changes, and notwithstanding the dissatisfaction of the people over those items of domestic legislation to which reference has been made, they were not prepared to imperil their prosperous outlook by venturing on civil war. Thus, to the south of the Forth the land lay quiet and comparatively contented under the Government; while to the north, such towns as Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen. which had opened their gates wide in the '15, were now at least indifferent, if not hostile. But Charles was determined to hazard his fortune, and a resolute spirit counts for much in a time of uncertainty and doubt. As only the logic of events would convince him to the contrary, he was allowed to have his way and put his cause to the arbitrament of the sword. At the head of three thousand mountaineers, all trained to their own wild way of warfare, he marched across the Grampians through Blair Atholl, where he restored the attainted Marquis of Tullibardine to his estates and honours, and on the night of 4th September, 1745, entered Perth arraved in a suit of Stewart tartan gaily trimmed with a profusion of gold lace. Here Lord Ogilvy joined him. As it was necessary, now that a great accession of prominent Jacobites had rallied to his standard (such as the titular Duke of Perth, Lord Nairne, Lord George Murray, Oliphant of Gask, and Lord Strathallan, besides other conspicuous recruits), to discuss measures for the organisation of the army, Charles formed a council consisting of the Duke of Perth, Lord Lewis Gordon, Lord Elcho, Lord Ogilvy, Lord Pitsligo, Lord Nairne, Lochiel and several others, which met every morning during the seven days' halt at Perth. The result of these deliberations was that Charles, in face of the inept procedure of Sir John Cope, the Commander of the Royal Forces in Scotland, by which he became entangled among the mountain passes and left the whole south exposed, should with the numbers at his disposal march upon the capital, while others should set about recruiting and join him there with such levies as they could muster. As he thus, unhindered as he was unmolested. set out southward, crossing the Forth to the west of Stirling, and appeared suddenly under the walls of Edinburgh, Lord Ogilvy rode north to Cortachy to raise a regiment of the men of Angus.

The Earl of Airlie was a pronounced supporter of the House of Stewart, though he moved on the side of caution, and, knowing the consequences of failure, did not personally take the field; but he was whole-hearted in his support of his son's efforts, and through his trusted agents in the Ogilvy country beat up recruits for Lord Ogilvy's regiment; being reported as ordering all tenants and servants on the Airlie estates to take up arms, saving, "They maun dae or be destroyed." As Lord Ogilvy from his seat at the Council was able to inform his father on the low state of the army purse, and that money as well as men was sadly wanted to support the cause, the Earl of Airlie, in his passionate loyalty and determined to do his part without measure or stint, sold the silver plate and family jewels, and gave the proceeds to defray the expenses of the Ogilvy regiment. In the course of a month, the son and heir of the House of Airlie, still short of his twenty-first year by three months, putting into practice the studies he had pursued with so much diligence in France, set out at the head of six hundred men of all classes and conditions of life, on his march to Edinburgh, where he arrived on 3rd October, 1745, the first of the recruits to join Charles. A fortnight earlier the Battle of Prestonpans had been fought and won, and Lord Ogilvy, who encamped at Leith, found to his delight that the Stewart once more kept Court at Holyrood, and that James VIII. had been proclaimed at the Market Cross King of Great Britain and Ireland. He hastened to Holyrood to report himself, and to pay his dutiful respects to the Prince Regent. There he found Charles rejoiced by being in the home of his ancestors, and, elated by his crowning victory over the Hanoverian army, revelling in the luxury, as he dispensed with a lavish hand the hospitality, of Holyrood House. The Jacobites were in the clouds with ecstasy and delight; for had they not at length realised the dream of their life—"The auld Stewarts back again"?

The news of Prestonpans spread throughout the country like wildfire, and the Jacobites who hitherto had been doubtful and passive now emerged into the open, making broad the phylacteries of their sentiments. Many of the lords and lairds of the Lothians rallied to the standard, and some not enamoured of the Stewarts took occasion to join the Prince out of disfavour for the Union, to which they had never been reconciled. The streets of Edinburgh were gay and picturesque with the Jacobite womenfolk in their white dresses with the white rose who had flocked to the capital to attend upon the Court of the Stewart. Lady Ogilvy, who would not be dissuaded from sharing the dangers and the fortunes of war with her husband, had gone with him, and was now a prominent figure in those halcyon days of Jacobite ecstasy. The old house of Holyrood, the later home of the Stewart Kings, left to the bats and the owls since the Union of the Crowns, was once more the scene of a dazzling throng, resplendent with the gorgeous dresses and resonant song and laughter of merry-hearted women. For, while Charles forbade all rejoicing for the victory of Prestonpans, assigning as his reason the loss which had been sustained by so many of his father's misguided subjects, he exercised at Holyrood the extensive and dignified hospitality of a Prince, and gave entertainments to his most distinguished followers, receptions and concerts to the ladies of the party; and on one occasion, between the victory of Prestonpans and the movement of his army to the south, he delighted the families of the nobility then present in Edinburgh by giving a ball, on a large and sumptuous scale, which he opened with perhaps the most conspicuous person in the ball-room—Lady Ogilvy, whose dress on that occasion is still preserved as a memorial of the time.

On the arrival of Lord Ogilvy in Edinburgh with his regiment, Charles promoted him to the rank of Colonel. He had come under the strict discipline of the French Army, and put into practice the methods in which he was instructed. There had up to this time been great laxity among Scottish soldiers, and especially the Highlanders, who, as seen in the Civil War, besides their love of fighting fought for booty, and, as then so now, Charles discovered after the Battle of Prestonpans that large numbers had gone north to place their miscellaneous goods picked up in the field. Lord Ogilvy, knowing the habits of the Celt, on 10th October, 1745, issued the following order:

"My Lord Ogilvy, Colonel, orders that all officers of his Regiment provide themselves with Targes from the Armorers in Edinburgh: likewise that Captain James Lyon be acknowledged Quarter-Master; Thomas Crichton, Surgeon; and Captain James Stewart, Adjutant in his Regiment. Also, that an officer and a sergeant of every Company attend every day at two o'clock at the Commandant of the Regiment, his quarters, to receive orders. Also, that every Captain give in a list of shoes wanting in his Company. Further, that no officer or soldier shall pretend to ask liberty to go home till further orders under the pain of being directly laid under arrest. Also, that the officers bring their men under arms to the parade at two o'clock; and that no officer whatever stir from Camp, or quarters, or leave the Regiment without leave from the Commandant under pain of being put under arrest."

The proceeds of the sale of the Airlie silver plate and family jewels were, part at least, to be used to have the men well shod and properly armed. From all accounts, a large proportion of Charles's army was far from being the one or other. The gentlemen of the clans were comfortably attired in full Highland dress and copiously

furnished with the various arms which appertained to that garb; but such appointments fell to few of the rank and file, who, for the most part, had to be satisfied with a single weapon—a sword, dirk, or pistol. The Act for Disarming the Highlands—a precautionary measure passed after the '15—in spite of evasions, had been so far effectual that many ardent clansmen were miserably armed; many of them with scythe-blades set straight on the handle, while others had only clubs or cudgels. As with their arms so with their outfit. Ill-clad many of them were; some without coats, others wanting bonnets and shoes; though frequently, as at Kilsyth in the Civil War, many hillmen preferred the freedom of their shirtsleeves. But the men of Lord Ogilvy's regiment, thanks to the family jewels, the loss of which the Ladies Airlie since then may have mourned, were well clothed and thoroughly well accoutred, which in large measure may account for Charles's partiality for it. Encamped at Leith, Lord Ogilvy was in daily attendance and super-intended the drill; and while strict, and it may be exacting in the case of a volunteer force, his affability, his fine rollicking humour kept the men in good heart. On 12th October the following order was posted:

"My Lord Ogilvy orders that Captain Alexander Farquharson and Lieutenant McDuff, 2 Sergeants, 1 Drum, and 30 men mount main Guard tomorrow, the 13th, at Leith."

The possession of Edinburgh and the victory of Prestonpans, while they threw a halo of splendour upon Charles Edward's fortunes, did not carry conviction to the more sagacious minds that the Stewart had come to stay. At least, far from the general rising which the Jacobites anticipated from these striking events, the country as a whole was irresponsive, and, as became manifest, only awaited the opportunity of being hostile. The minister of the West Church, protected by the guns of the Castle, in his own eccentric manner, was a fair reflection of the general attitude of the populace when, having prayed for King George, he added the naïve petition: "As to this young person who has come among us

seeking an earthly crown, do Thou, in Thy merciful favour, give him a heavenly one." The citizens of Edinburgh were for the most part neutral, only three hundred -and these chiefly from the lanes and vennels of the old town who had nothing at stake-donned the white cockade. The Frasers and the other clans depending upon the action of Lord Lovat, the MacPhersons, Mackintoshes, Farquharsons, and Macleods, from whom Charles had expected support, gave no sign; on the contrary, the wily Chief of the Frasers, who had exacted from the Prince the promise of a dukedom should he come into his own again, had hastened to assure Lord President Forbes "that nothing can alter or diminish my leal and attachment for his Majesty's person and Government." As will be seen, ignorance of this posture of affairs had disastrous consequences for Charles and his Council. The Lowland country looked askance. The persecution of the Covenanters in the reign of the Prince's grandfather was still a lively memory over the counties of the south and west of Scotland, and these people would not have a Papist to reign over them. Then, the Council was not always an harmonious group. Brought up and instructed in the doctrines of divine right, and ignorant of that liberty of opinion which had always been claimed and freely indulged in by the Scottish nobility, Charles could not tolerate an expression of opinion that differed from his own, and took a dislike to everybody who ventured to do so. The main subject of debate was the objective that was immediately in front of them. Charles was resolved on a march into England without in the least knowing how the English were likely to receive him; on the other hand, the older and wiser heads suggested that it would be advisable to reconnoitre the ground first, as the Marquis of Montrose had done a hundred years before, and make sure that they should be welcomed by their friends there, either to join them or to favour their rising in arms. a matter of fact—and the pity is that he was ignorant of it—Charles was himself responsible for the utter indifference of those who were attached to his House and the hostility of others who had no aversion to it. When it became known throughout England the year before, in the attempted invasion of that country by the French, that he had been on board one of the battleships and in league with the enemy, the flame of Jacobitism was extinguished even in so stalwart a family as the Wyndhams, who resented it. Neither the Highland chiefs nor their clansmen were enamoured of exploiting the country south of the Tweed. Flodden still rankled in their memory. "The Flowers of the Forest" had just come into vogue as a sad reminder of a great national calamity. In the end, as Charles's heart was set upon the venture, against their own convictions they yielded to the proposition.

Marshal Wade, it was known, was at Newcastle, but as yet the intelligence had not reached Charles that George II., accompanied by the Duke of Cumberland. had returned from the Continent, bringing with him large drafts of seasoned troops from Flanders. With a force computed at six thousand, horse and foot, with twenty guns, the army in two sections set out for the invasion of England; one under the command of Charles taking the east-coast route, while the other took the west by way of Peebles, Moffat, and Lockerbie. Lord Ogilvy's regiment was included in the latter. Meeting with little opposition, the divided army met on 9th November within two miles of Carlisle. The experience of the march proved that if it had been undertaken with reluctance, it had been pursued with hesitation and difficulty, and in many cases marked by desertion. In the following letter to Sir James Kinloch, written from Moffat on the "6th November 1745," Lord Ogilvy disclosed how matters stood:

"SIR,

The army has marched . . . since we left Dalkeith, and the men have been starved for want of bread, which has made desertion. I have lost myself a good many, but cannot get their names from the Captains to send you. I entreat you to make enquiry and bring up those fellows along with you. I hope by the time this finds you that you'll have on foot as

many as you may march with, and I entreat of you to make all diligence imaginable, and you may join the army as yet, which is to halt at Carlisle for some time in order to let people join. Please take the trouble to examine William Ogilvy if he has taken money, and take him to task if he has done it. Spare no pains to bring gentlemen along with you, and you are authorised by this to bring with you William Shaw and his brother prisoners if they make any excuses.

In your march always keep a trusty rearguard to prevent

desertion. I am, Dear Sir, Your most obedient servant

OGILVY."

This letter discovers the fact which has otherwise been vouched for-that it was with difficulty many of the men could be persuaded to continue in the ranks, while a great number, stated to be over a thousand, deserted before reaching the Border. Lord Ogilvy, full of hope, confident in his cause, yet soon to be disillusioned, also states that "the army . . . is to halt at Carlisle for some time in order to let people join." In the country through which they had passed, if they had not met the "sharp weapons," they had seen "many sour faces"; and if this were not warning enough, they had gathered no additions to their strength. With a show of resistance, Carlisle capitulated; but there, too, were "many sour faces" and no recruits. Preston, Lancaster, and Manchester gave in under the gentlest pressure; but there were few to cheer the Prince of Wales, who at each of those places proclaimed his father King of Great Britain and Ireland; and of the multitudes who were to flock to the Stewart standard, when once raised, scarcely any appeared. There was deep disappointment: there was a growing chagrin. It could not endure much longer, as the Highland chiefs were fast losing heart. The army reached Derby, and still no spring of Jacobite enthusiasm had been tapped. This was the limit. Within one hundred and twenty-five miles of London, instead of the welcoming shouts of the people growing in volume, the nearer their approach to the capital, not a sound was heard, not a sword was proffered. Lochiel had cut his finger, and the Highlanders construed the accident as a bad omen; but the ominous coldness and

sulky looks of the populace were more convincing still that, so far as England was concerned, the invasion was a failure. George II., and not James III. and VIII., was the King after their own hearts.

A Council was held and a retreat was ordered. Lord Ogilvy's regiment, which had headed the march south from Carlisle on account of its superior discipline and accoutrements, now for the same reason occupied the rear; especially as news had reached Charles that the Duke of Cumberland, encamped at Lichfield, had begun his march north. With the exception of a skirmish at Clifton, where the Royal cavalry came into contact with the retreating army-in which, as stated in MacPherson's MS., "Cumberland and his Cavalry fled with precipitation and in such great confusion, that if the Prince had been provided in a sufficient number of cavalry to have taken advantage of the disorder, it is beyond question that the Duke of Cumberland and the bulk of his cavalry had been taken prisoners"-the retreat was uneventful, save for occasional exhibitions of hostility. On 20th December Charles's army left Carlisle and, crossing the Esk at Langton, was again on Scottish soil. Giving Edinburgh a wide berth, where Marshal Wade held the fort for constituted authority, the Highlanders turned west through Dumfries towards the opulent city of Glasgow, where Charles hoped to rehabilitate his army, and where it is reported he

"required the Magistrates of Glasgow to furnish his army with 1,200 shirts; 6,000 short coats; 6,000 pairs of shoes; 6,000 bonnets; 6,000 pairs of stockings; the value of which, added to the £5,500 paid on the 27th December, amounted to £10,000."

During the march into England the Earl of Airlie was actively engaged in Angus and Mearns recruiting a second regiment, of which Sir James Kinloch had command. Composed of nearly four hundred men, it was employed in landing troops, arms, and stores from France and conveying them from Dundee to Perth. From Glasgow Lord Ogilvy summoned this force to join him at Stirling, where, on 16th January, 1746, he found

himself at the head of a compact body of eight hundred good fighting material.

In the meantime the Duke of Cumberland's pursuit of the Highlanders in person was interrupted by his recall to London to take command against a projected invasion by the French, and General Henry Hawley was appointed to succeed him in dealing with Charles. An officer of military experience, but whose wisdom was not commensurate with his courage, he had boasted that "two regiments of Dragoons was sufficient to ride over the whole Highland army," and this mean opinion of the enemy cost him his reputation as a military leader. With eight thousand men, including thirteen hundred horse, he was joined by a thousand Argyll Highlanders under Colonel Campbell, whose presence in the fightingline served to stimulate the Ogilvy regiment, who might be relied upon to seek them out. Marching from Edinburgh through Linlithgow, General Hawley came in sight of the Jacobite army on Plean Muir, seven miles distant, and encamped on a common near the town of Falkirk. Sheridan, in his Epilogue to "The Rivals," represents a woman as saving:

"One moral's plain—without more fuss;
Man's social happiness all rests on us;
Through all the drama—whether damn'd or not—
Love gilds the scene, and women guide the plot."

The Countess of Kilmarnock, a woman of great gaiety of temper and gracious, insinuating manner and lively wit, whose husband was an officer in Charles's army, set herself to make the acquaintance of General Hawley, and invited him to Callander House, where with Lady Ogilvy she entertained him with sumptuous hospitality and in delightful conversation. So pleased was he with his reception, and so enamoured of his fair hostess and her guest, that he not only stayed far into the night but returned next morning to a late breakfast, which the lady was careful to prolong with a delectable display of interesting talk which served the purpose of her friends. In the absence of the English General, the officers lay at

their ease, while the troops, unsuspecting, were at dinner on 17th January, when they perceived the Highlanders. who, by one of their rapid and silent movements under cover of a dense mist which overspread the landscape and concealed from view by intervening heights, were advancing to the high ground which commanded their place of encampment. General Hawley, summoned from his rendezvous with the Countess of Kilmarnock, made a bold attempt to dispute this advantageous position, but failed. Both armies, about equal in number, were without artillery, the Highlanders having left their guns at Stirling, while those of the English were sunk in a bog. Lord Ogilvy's regiment, occupying the centre, had on the right the Camerons and MacDonalds, and the Gordons on the left. General Hawley, attempting a movement on the flank, sent his cavalry at full trot upon the Highlanders to break their ranks, but the hillmen, many of whom were stretched upon the ground, stabbed the horses with their dirks or shot them with their pistols, causing the utmost confusion; taking advantage of which, they drew their swords in a general charge to such effect that the English broke and fled. The following notice of the battle was posted:

"Friday 17th.—Lord Ogilvy's two Batalions marched out of Stirling to review at Bannockburn, from whence he marched with the Royal Standard in second line, to a hill above Falkirk, where the Prince engaged the enemy under General Hawley, routed them, took their artillery, baggage, ammunition, and tents, and quartered that night at Falkirk. Two of Ogilvy's men were killed and three wounded. A standard was taken.

Saturday 18th.—We marched back to Stirling to assist at the siege. Sunday in the trenches, as also Monday and Tuesday."

The news of the defeat at Falkirk gave great alarm at Headquarters, where, on receipt of it, a levee was being held. The situation was taken seriously. Perhaps the only person in the great throng of courtiers inwardly to rejoice was Sir John Cope, who saw in General Hawley's discomfiture a disaster that was likely to efface his own misfortune at Prestonpans. No time was lost, as no person was considered now of too great consequence to

be placed at the head of the army. In the course of a week, the Duke of Cumberland, a Prince of the Royal blood, assumed the chief command, and with his staff set off for Edinburgh.

For various reasons into which within the compass of this work it is impossible to enter, the Siege of Stirling, which had lasted from 18th to 31st January, 1746, was abandoned, and a retreat to Inverness decided upon, in order that by destroying Lord Loudon's forces in that quarter they should make themselves masters of the north, and at the same time draw the royal Duke as far as possible from his supplies. On 1st February the retreat began, and by the 4th, Lord Ogilvy arrived at Cortachy, where he gave his men seven days' leave to visit their homes. On the morning of the 11th, the regiment, or so many of them as reported for duty, met at Clova, and having rested and replenished their stores, marched off through Glen Doll, Glenmuick, across country to Keith, and on the 19th reached Elgin, where, footsore and wearied, they rested for the space of a week. By 3rd March Lord Ogilvy joined up with the other divisions of the army—that led by Charles which had gone by the Highland route and on its way had captured Inverness, and the other which followed the coast route through Aberdeen—the prearranged rendezvous being Gordon Castle in Strathbogie.

Meanwhile the Duke of Cumberland, who had followed close at the heels of Lord Ogilvy as far as Perth, and so far had been favourably received by the people of the country through which he passed, on learning that he had in front of him only one division of the enemy forces, thought fit to pause and discuss the situation, while the arrival of reinforcements at Leith caused him to make a hurried visit to Edinburgh. Resuming his march later from Perth, he rested at Glamis, where he received his first experience of a hostile element. The Earl of Airlie had been actively engaged along the Braes of Angus, throughout Strathmore, and in the county town, calling for recruits and keeping at fever-heat the political passions of the populace, the result of which was ex-

hibited when the royal Duke unfortunately encamped in this hornets'-nest of Jacobitism. During the dead of night a band of Angus bravadoes crept stealthily within the lines of the camp and cut the girths of the troopers' horses in order to impede the march, to the great indignation of his Royal Highness, who threatened to make an example of them on his return. He had evidently learned the chief cause of this distemper and the source whence it had been inspired, and he did not await his return to let his will be known. The following letter, dated "Aberdeen, 15th March 1745/6," was despatched to the Earl of Airlie:

## "My LORD.

I am commanded by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland to let your Lordship know in the clearest and plainest terms that his Royal Highness has such positive information corroborated by so many circumstances of your unwearied endeavours to support, aid, and assist the Rebels, by secretly corresponding with them, by encouraging and countenancing their emissarys and spies, and by forwarding the levys and recruits they are endeavouring to raise about the country, that he cannot help giving credit to it. This, therefore, is on behalf of his Royal Highness fairly to warn your Lordship of the danger of such practices (which how darkly soever carried on will sooner or later find the way to the clear Daylight) as you value the security of your house and estate, and the safety and ease of your Person. This is what I am commanded to notifie to you, and for the rest, I am, My Lord, Your most obedient humble servant

EVERARD FAWKENER.

TO THE LORD ERLY."

This letter would remind the Earl of Airlie how far he had travelled from his original intention of adopting a reserved attitude. Since Lord Ogilvy was in the fighting-line he had deemed it prudent for family reasons to keep in the background himself. He had lighted his candle and meant to keep it under the bed; but lo! in his zeal for the cause he had carried it full tilt to the window, where its light streamed over the countryside. The sale of the silver plate and the family jewels would soon be noised abroad; a matter of such moment could

not long be kept secret, and once known it would be taken as an indication of the intensity of his devotion to the House of Stewart and the measure of his endeavour to have it reinstated in the seat of authority. The letter, however, could have little practical effect, as by the date of its reception he had done all he had set himself to do; only it would suggest caution till he should see if the Duke of Cumberland might not share the same misfortune as overtook Sir John Cope and General Hawley. The result, however, was quite otherwise; and the disaster which befell Charles's army, by which the flame of Jacobitism was for ever extinguished by the volume of its own blood, while it was a grievous disappointment to a House so loyal as Airlie to their ancient rulers, it was in all respects more conducive to the peace and well-being of the country. Culloden was a great disaster; and on his way to that fatal field the Duke of Cumberland added insult to injury by selecting as his headquarters "the Earl of Airlie's Lodging" near the banks of the Deveron.

Those who can speak with authority on the subject have asserted that, considering their mode of warfare, the Highlanders could not have chosen worse ground on which to fight. A bleak, open stretch of country almost level as a tennis-court, it had none of those advantages to which they had been accustomed in their own mountainous regions. There could be no surprise. There was no precipice across which the mountaineers could leap surefooted as a goat and roll down huge stones upon the enemy soldiers as they clambered up the narrow defile. There was no valley concealed by intervening hill through which they might steal with the stealth of a hunter and take the enemy on the flank, with that reckless dash and fearless courage so long characteristic of the Highlanders, and so much feared by the Saxon. it was, infantry, cavalry, artillery could all bring within sweep of their sight the whole composition of the forces and the entire plain of battle with perfect ease. The result was beyond doubt. With a force of nine thousand highly trained men in excellent condition to Charles's

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army of five thousand tired and hungry followers, with an overwhelming superiority in artillery and an equal advantage in cavalry, together with the fact that the field chosen was altogether in his favour, the Duke of Cumberland from the start held the enemy in the hollow of his hand; and, moreover, as if the god of battles had condescended to aid him, a blinding storm of wind and sleet blew straight into the face of the Highlanders as they rushed forth in the attack. Lord Ogilvy's regiment was placed on the right of the second division and immediately behind the Atholl and Cameron companies. this division fell the brunt of the battle, short, sharp, and decisive as it was. In the teeth of shot and shell, with that maddened fury of which the mountaineers alone were capable, they cut through the enemy's first line and captured two pieces of his cannon; but this success only exposed them to a more concentrated fire, before which they fell "in layers of three and four deep." At this juncture Lord Ogilvy led his men into the charge, who, like himself, were warming to the fight, when he perceived the regiments to his right giving way, and he counselled them to act on the defensive; but soon, seeing his flank becoming exposed, he ordered a retreat. The day was lost. The star of Charles Edward Stewart fell from the firmament of his long-cherished hopes and sank into the darkness of despair.

It was now every man for himself—as Charles is reported to have said, "to seek the means of escape as best he can." Lord Ogilvy, however, as soon as he had got beyond the danger of immediate pursuit, assembled the regiment and counselled them to hold together till they should reach their homes. The casualties sustained had been nine killed, two wounded, and forty-three prisoners. In good order and fleet of foot, they returned the way they had gone, and in the course of four days reached Clova, where the men were disbanded. But instead of going to Cortachy, Lord Ogilvy had to take to the mountains. In the Glen he came to learn that the Earl of Airlie had been for more than two weeks entertaining with anything but goodwill a number of guests in the

shape of a company of Hessian troops under the command of Captain Hamilton, whose acquaintance it was inadvisable at that moment he should make. From the Castle they patrolled the district and kept a watchful eye on the passes leading from the Grampians. Cortachy being forbidden ground, he must seek shelter elsewhere and at a safe distance. Lord Ogilvy was not alone. When he went to France in the autumn of 1743, he engaged as body-servant John Thomson, a native of Lintrathen, a youth two years his master's senior: a resourceful character, original, familiar, but always respectful; such as Sir Walter Scott has so faithfully pictured of his own familiar "Tom Purdie," the prototype of Andrew Fairservice. Shrewd, cunning, and, when it suited his book, stupid, "John Tamson" was in closest friendship with Lord Ogilvy, who understood him and knew his value. While in France he had humoured his desire to improve his handling of the sword, in the use of which he became highly expert. Returning from France with his master, he had been with him throughout the campaign, and now was his solitary companion on his lonely wanderings among the hills. A faithful and respectful servant, when Lord Ogilvy, in the simplicity of his heart, proposed that they should exchange places, with reluctance John agreed, though he found it difficult to play the part of a "lord," and, forgetting for the moment his new position, on one occasion led almost to the undoing of his master. Lying concealed during daytime, on the approach of sundown they emerged from their hiding-place, and, travelling west along the foothills of the Grampians, hoped in time to gain the Sidlaws, where they might get into touch with Dundee. Tired and hungry, they approached a wayside country hostelry in the gloaming, where, if there was nothing suspicious, Lord Ogilvy had thoughts of lodging the night. To suit the rôle of being poor travellers, they decided on having porridge for supper, and, as was customary in such cases, having purchased the meal, they were allowed the use of the kitchen fire to cook it. Lord Ogilvy, the more to conceal his position, took upon

him to make the porridge, and did it in so awkward a manner that John, foreseeing a spoiled dish, was forced to interfere. Instead of working the meal through the fingers, his lordship was throwing it into the pot by handfuls, when the prospect of an unpalatable supper overcame John's discretion, and he anxiously whispered, but unfortunately loud enough to be overheard by a number of men at the other end of the kitchen: "Twinkle your little finger, my lord, twinkle your little finger." This indiscretion led to questions and remarks on the part of the other guests which compelled them to forgo their intention of enjoying the luxury of a bed, and, as soon as they had partaken of the knotted porridge, they made a hurried departure. Once in the open, Lord Ogilvy, gently rebuking John for his forgetfulness, made a solemn compact that on no account or occasion during their wanderings was he ever to address him otherwise than "Davie."

If the Government troops were keeping a strict watch of the passes leading from the Grampians all the way from Stirling to Aberdeen, the ports along the east coast were subject to an equally rigorous vigilance. It was impossible to escape by the ordinary means of travel, the scrutiny was too close and unremitting. Lord Ogilvv's spirit, always bright, cheerful, and buoyant, was seriously overcast when the news reached him that his chief supporters, Sir James Kinloch and his brotherin-law, Major Rattray of Rannagulzion, had been taken prisoners at Bendochy by a party of Hessian cavalry and conveyed north to the Duke of Cumberland's headquarters. Other reports brought the news of other captures. The situation was serious. Cortachy Castle was cut off, so there could be no help from that quarter. What was to be done? Many plans, no doubt, were brought under review: many schemes and expedients discussed; but at length it was decided that they should make for Lintrathen, where John Thomson knew a secret place of hiding, and where Lord Ogilvy, secure against betrayal, would be supplied with food, while John himself should go forth and reconnoitre the ground. Dis-



MARGARET, LADY OGILVY.
(From portrait in National Gallery, Edinburgh.)

guised as a shepherd and armed with a stout crook as became his calling, he was absent over a week, when he returned with the welcome news that, with a measure of luck, the course was clear. While in Dundee he had forgathered with an old friend whose opinions he knew were favourable—Captain Stewart, on board whose ship they had sailed to Dundee less than a year before. He was taking in cargo for Norway and was due to sail in a few days; but entrusting him with a secret that he was to lie at anchor near the lights of Tay to take on board a few fugitives, he undertook to await the arrival of Lord Ogilvy and himself. In disguise, straight as the crow flies, through Airlie, Glamis, and the Lumley Den, they reached Broughty-Ferry, where the vessel was anchored, and under the cloud of night were speedily conveyed on board, where Lord Ogilvy found ready to greet him Hunter of Burnside, Fletcher of Balinschoe, Graham of Duntrune, and Fotheringham of Powrie. The sails were immediately hoisted, and the good ship, cutting the waves in noble fashion, was soon lost to sight in the grey mist of the North Sea.

Lady Ogilvy, it may be remembered, when the army left Edinburgh for the march into England, remained in the capital, staying at Hawkhill with her aunt. She came of a Covenanting race, and her family was both Presbyterian and Hanoverian; but being young and ardently in love with her husband, there could be no question that she would readily assimilate his views and make them her own. As a matter of fact, being a person of romantic susceptibilities and as the adventure of Charles Edward appealed to her, she was all the more ready to do this. On hearing of the Highlanders' retreat and the direction of it, she posted to Glasgow, there to await the arrival of Lord Ogilvy. Henceforth she remained with the army. At the Battle of Falkirk she was with the reserve, an eager spectator of the defeat of General Hawley's troops, where, as later, she held in readiness b fleet horse should her husband require it. From Stiring she marched north with the regiment to Cortachy, and when a week later it set out for the rendezvous in Strathbogie, though hard pressed to remain at the Castle, she determined to share the fortunes of war with Lord Ogilvy. The guest of Mr. Gordon of Killihuntly, she rode out to Culloden, again having in charge a horse in case of need, and watched the battle and mourned the defeat. At first she decided to accompany the regiment, but when a hurried escape was inevitable and hard riding over the hills essential, Lady Ogilvy was persuaded to remain at Killihuntly till such time as it would be safe for her to travel. A few days later, when out walking in the district, she was captured by a company of dragoons who were scouring the country in pursuit of the Highlanders. and conveyed to Inverness, where for two months she was in close confinement. Her friends spared no pains to alleviate her misfortune and, if possible, secure her liberty. The known loyalty of her father to the Government was strongly urged upon the Duke of Cumberland, who, while admitting that he was acquainted with the fact, could not overlook that on the other side she was identified with principles of the most pronounced Jacobitism. The result was that in the inflamed state of public feeling an example had to be made, and by the middle of June, with Lady MacIntosh she was removed under a military escort to Edinburgh, there to await her trial on the charge of high treason. In the Scots Magazine of June, 1746, the following notice occurs:

"Lady Ogilvy, taken at Culloden, was brought to Edinburgh by a party of soldiers and committed to the Castle on the 15th June."

She had many friends in Edinburgh, most of them in sympathy with constituted authority, who would use every influence and encourage every device to save her from the extreme penalty; and herself quick-witted and resourceful, she would not be slow to avail herself of any opportunity to gain her liberty. This she was fortunate enough to accomplish, as six months later in an issue of the same magazine there is this notice:

"Lady Ogilvy, who has been prisoner in the Castle since the middle of June, made her escape on the 21st November, 1746."

The story of her escape discovers a clever piece of acting on her part and an equally clever exhibition of dexterous conduct on the part of her sister, Barbara Johnston, afterwards Lady Kinnaird. Fortunately, she was not so strictly and closely confined in her room in the Castle as to preclude her friends and acquaintances visiting her and using their privileges of access to surround her with comforts and to lighten by various artifices the burden of her captivity. But while her friends were making such efforts as they could to induce the clemency of the Crown, she determined to help herself and with luck be the author of her own deliverance. She had been granted the services of a maid, who attended upon her twice a week, keeping her in clean linen, taking away and bringing back a bundle at each visit. The woman, somewhat deformed, had an ungainly hitch in her walk. Ogilvy, who saw that to get clear of the Castle she must impersonate someone, hit upon the idea of imitating the hobbling gait of her servant-woman. She had made a careful study of her action and gestures, and, having ingratiated herself in her affections to such a degree that the poor maid would do anything to please "the bonnie ladie," on one occasion she sprung upon her the desire to learn how she managed her particular hobble, and would she mind telling her how it was done? Of course she would, and only too pleased to humour such condescension. Lady Ogilvy, an apt pupil, kept practising the step, though by no means a graceful one, until she became quite proficient in it. Then she communicated to her sister her design of using it and the servantwoman's clothes in a bold bid for liberty. The matter was closely discussed by the two sisters and the programme agreed upon. Lady Ogilvy feigned illness, and by the kindly-hearted Sir Peter Halkett, the Governor of the Castle, was allowed during its currency the society of Barbara Johnston. Fortune favoured the attempt, if, indeed, the circumstances had not actually been prearranged with the connivance of the Governor, who was on friendly terms with Lord Elibank, Lady Ogilvy's uncle. John Martin, the warder of the Castle prison, in

the dusk of the Saturday evening, 21st November, was sent by Sir Peter Halkett into the city to inquire for Lady Elibank, who opportunely was sick and confined to bed, and to report to him on his return. The maid. arriving with her bundle of clean linen, was able to inform Lady Ogilvy that she had met him on his way down town. Now was the time. "The bonnie ladie" persuaded her to change clothes with her, and as she seemed quite willing to play the part of Glaucus to her Diomede the exchange was promptly made. Requesting her to remain behind for a little, Lady Ogilvy took up the bundle, and assuming to perfection the woman's limping gait, left the room, walked coolly and calmly past the sentinel on guard, and without notice being taken found herself in the street, along which she continued to hobble till she joined her friends at Abbey Hill, where they anxiously awaited the outcome of the plot. A change of dress and a pair of good horses were in readiness, and accompanied by Archibald Hart, a merchant in Edinburgh, she rode forth into the night along the east-coast route for the south.

Two days passed before the escape was discovered. When John Martin appeared later on that Saturday night to serve Lady Ogilvy's supper, Barbara Johnston informed him that as her sister was still indisposed he was "to dress no supper," and as a favour begged to be allowed to stay and attend her overnight. It was reasonable, and he assented to it. Next morning she stated that as Lady Ogilvy had a bad night, she did not wish to be disturbed. In this way she played with him until she felt assured that her sister was far on her way to safety, when she disclosed the escape and was prepared to abide the consequences, which were that she had to remain where her sister had been incarcerated till a Government inquiry should be made.

Lady Ogilvy, having a two days' start—no mean advantage in those days of slow and tardy communication—made the most of it, and tradition says that she rode straight for Hull, then a busy seaport with daily sailing for Rotterdam. There, dressed in male attire, she

boarded a vessel, and with a sigh of relief thought all danger of detection and recapture over; but at the last moment an embargo was laid on all the ships of the harbour and a search ordered against the chance of Charles Edward making his escape. With his description of the Prince, the officer's suspicion fell on Lady Ogilvy, but on her companion taking him aside and assuring him that she was indeed a lady who had the ill-fortune to run herself into debt and was thus, to escape imprisonment and bringing disgrace on her family, seeking asylum on the Continent, he demanded an investigation. On the stewardess reporting on the sex question, the story was all the more readily entertained, and she was allowed to go. In an hour the anchor was weighed, the sails set, and the ship's prow facing north-east was on her way with her burden for the shores of Holland. A few days later Lady Ogilvy joined her husband at St. Germains. the city of refuge to the adherents of the unfortunate House of Stewart.

But Lord Ogilvy, before he reached this retreat of his compatriots, had to run the gauntlet of disappointment and adventure. While all the ports along the east coast were carefully watched, the British Government had enjoined all friendly Powers to aid in apprehending any adherents of Charles who might seek refuge in their dominions. As Norway, after the breaking up of the Kalmar Union in the sixteenth century, remained united to Denmark, and indeed was not transferred to Sweden till the peace of Kiel in 1814, the King of Denmark issued orders that all vessels landing in his ports should be examined, and all persons not having passports should be apprehended. Here was a situation Lord Ogilvy had not bargained for, and was greatly nonplussed when on landing at Bergen he and his companions were promptly arrested and put in prison at the Castle there. Fortunately, the resourceful John Thomson, being down in the hold of the ship attending to what little luggage the fugitives had contrived to get on board, escaped arrest, but on coming on deck he was chagrined to see his master led away under a guard of soldiers. What was

to be done? The situation required careful thinking out. At length, to avoid suspicion, he was rigged out in sailor fashion, and, secreting his own and his master's swords, went prowling about the city to find out the place of incarceration. The shock of arrest had thoroughly unmanned Lord Ogilvy, and, taken ill, he was removed to hospital. With the cunning and sagacity of a mountain collie, John tracked out his master's place of confinement and contrived to convey a message to him, which he was quick to understand. A few days later Lord Ogilvy managed to elude the vigilance of the authorities, and, making his way outside, found his faithful servant hovering about. There was no time to lose, and possessing themselves of their swords, they made for the open country; but they had not gone far when they became aware that they were being pursued by three men in arms. Again it seemed as if they were lost. Lord Ogilvy, good swordsman as he was, felt so ill as to be incapable of defence, far less a stand-up fight; and three to one was a heavy handicap. John came to the rescue. A Highlander, he knew the strategy of Celtic warfare and how to take advantage of the ground. Reconnoitring for a position that would be favourable. he took his place in a narrow rocky gorge, and, directing his master where to go and what to do, drew his sword in readiness to bar the passage of pursuit. Lord Ogilvy hesitating to leave him in so serious a situation, John became peremptory and bade him go with the stipulation, "Gin I dinna come, ye'll look aifter Nance," meaning his sister in Lintrathen. In a short time he followed and overtook his master with sufficient evidence of having used his weapon. Lord Ogilvy, seeing his hands and clothes covered with blood, concluded he had been badly wounded, and anxiously remarked: "There is blood on your clothes, John "; but he received the cool assurance, "Oh, aye, Davie man, but it's nae mine." The two fugitives passed into Sweden, and, keeping east, arrived at Gottenburg, where they secured a passage on a vessel bound for France, and without further incident reached that hospitable country.

When the British Parliament met in 1747, certain measures arising out of the Stewart campaign were brought under discussion. The first in order of time was a Bill dealing with the men of quality who had taken part in the cause of the Chevalier. With common consent an Act of Attainder was passed which, in so far as it affected Lord Ogilvy, was drastic enough; for, not only was he declared an outlaw but in addition was stripped of his title, being debarred "from taking upon him the title of Lord Ogilvy," and this deprivation extended "to heirs of his body." The second measure had for its object the prevention of such combinations as made the insurrection of 1745 possible, since the Act aimed at the disarming of the Highlands, by the terms of which all arms had to be delivered to the authorities appointed by Government, and it was criminal to conceal them. The third Act of the Legislature was the abolition of heritable jurisdictions in Scotland. As the object of this Act was to put an end to the power which all landed proprietors had hitherto possessed of judging in civil and criminal causes among their dependants, the spirit of clanship received a mortal blow. The Act provided that all such petty jurisdictions should be bought up from the proprietors and vested in the Sheriff, who would be appointed by the Sovereign. The sum voted by Parliament for their redemption was £52,000. As the Earl of Airlie held three such appointments, he was awarded—for Aberbrothock, £1,400; Coupar, £800; Brechin, £600. And with the intention of striking at the root of the feudal system, an Act was also passed abolishing the right of ward-holding, by which landlords commanded the military service of their tenants. By the three last-mentioned Acts the last conspicuous features of ancient feudalism were brought to an end in Scotland, and Jacobitism died with them.

Tobias Smollett, who lived through the '45, transporting "Peregrine Pickle" to France, describes the deep impression made upon the mind of his hero by the sad and dejected look and melancholy gait of a number of men whom he met on the road, and inquiring who and

what manner of men they were, was told "they were his own countrymen, exiled from their native homes in consequence of their adherence to an unfortunate and ruined cause; and that they were gone to the sea-side, according to their daily practice, in order to indulge their longing eves with the prospect of the white cliffs of Albion, which they must never more approach." To judge from his letters during the two and thirty years of exile (continuing to use the forbidden title as a matter of courtesy), Lord Ogilvy had many a longing desire as he cast many a lingering look into the far west where his home lav and his kindred dwelt; but he was neither sad nor dejected. He faced his lot with a brave spirit, and determined to make the best of it. He never lost touch with the family, though he had to resort to many subterfuges to do so. Adopting the rôle of nom de plume, he displayed a delightful variety of local designations: "David Glenmoy," "David Forter," "David Elyth," "David Caenlochen," "David Lintrathen," "James Douglas," "James Eskside," "Thomas Craigeassy," "David Kinwhirrie." Under these assumed names he kept up a close correspondence with his family and friends, and as long as the Earl of Airlie lived kept him informed of the activities of "John Anderson" in the French Army, his rapid promotion to the rank of Lieutenant-General in a regiment called "Ogilvy's Own," named, he had heard, "after some ancestor of a family of this name somewhere The letters were usually addressed to in Scotland." some of the tenants near Cortachy, and found their way to the Castle. There runs throughout all his communications a delightful humour, as when "David Forter," writing to a friend, informs him that "Kinwhirrie's wife had a dochter the other day "-thus intimating that Lady Ogilvy had given birth to a daughter at Boulogne on 23rd June, 1748, and baptised the following day by Rev. John Maitland, the exiled Chaplain of Lord Ogilvy's regiment, who at Culloden is reported to have administered the Sacrament to the dying Lord Strathallan, using, instead of the usual elements, oatcake and whisky. Lord Ogilvy, who accepted a commission in the French

Army, was allowed to raise a regiment of his exiled countrymen in the service of Louis XV., which was called "Le Régiment Ogilvy." It consisted of twelve companies, and by this means he was able to provide employment for many of the refugees who otherwise would have been hard pressed for a livelihood. The regiment saw a good deal of active service and acquired distinction, as may be gathered from the following letter subscribed at Versailles on 6th June, 1754, by the Commander-in-Chief, M. D'Argenson, to the effect that Louis XV. was so pleased with the account of the way in which it had served at Aymeries Camp that, out of regard for its brilliant conduct in the field, Lord Ogilvy was complimented and several subordinates named received promotion.

"A VERSAILLES, Le 6th Juin, 1754.

Mons: D'OGILVY

Le Roy aste très content du compte, Monsieur, que je luy ay rendue de la manière donc votre regiman a servé au Camp d'Aymeries, Cette consideration a déterminé sa Ma/tié a accorder aux officiers qui y ont contribué, les graces ci-après savoir: au S. Glascoe, Major, une grattification de cinq cens livres sur le 4th dernier; une de trois cens livres au S Stuart, Lieutenant, de la Colonelle avec rang de Cap/ne en Seconde: et au I Burck aide Major qui aussi rang de Captaine en seconde une Commission pour tenir rang de Captaine en pied.

J'ay l'honneur de vous en informer en être très parfaitement,

Monsieur, votre très humble et obéissant serviteur

M D'ARGENSON."

Five years later Louis XV. found occasion to mark his appreciation of Lord Ogilvy's services in the Army, and in an autograph letter to him conveyed the information that he conferred upon him a military decoration:

## "Mons: D'Ogilvy:

La satisfaction que j'ai du service que vous m'avez rendu món engagé de vous associer à l'Institution du mérite militaire mais comme l'eloignement dans lequel vous vous trouvez pour raison de mon service ne vous permet pas de faire le voiage qui serrie nécessaire pour être recu par moi même en la<sup>d</sup> Institution je vous écris cette lettre pour vous dire que j'ai commis le St Baron De Wurmsa Commandeur de laditte Institution pour en mon nom recevoir et admettre à la qualité de Chevalier au mérite militaire; et moi intention en que vous vous addresser a lui pour prêter en serment le serment que vous êter tenu de faire en laditte qualité de Chevalier: et recevoir de lui l'accolade et la Croix que vous devez dorénavant porter sur l'estomac attachér d'un petit ruban coleur de bleu fonce sans être ondé; voulant qu après cette reception faite tenier rang entre les autres Chevalier de la Institution, et jouissier des honneur qui y attacher. Et la présente n'etant pour autre, Sir, je prie Dieu qu'il vous ait: Mons: D'Ogilvy en sa sainte garde.

Louis.

Ecrit à Versailles le 31st October, 1759."

With the King of France, who bestowed upon him liberal gratuities, and with Queen Marie Lord Ogilvy was in high favour, a persona grata at Court, where he was generally hailed as "Le Bel Écossais." His handsome presence, cheerful spirit, courtly manners, and irresistible good-humour, made him immensely popular and a Court favourite, which led him into what he considered an awkward and disagreeable predicament. A la française, Louis XV. represented to Lord Ogilvy that he would have to choose a mistress among the ladies of the Court; but to the suggestion he was highly unfavourable. on the ground that it was not the custom of his country, and would be a cause of offence to his wife. On being told that the courtiers would regard it otherwise as an intolerable breach of good manners, he asked for time to consider the matter and consult with Lady Ogilvy, whose approval he must receive before he could entertain the suggestion. Much as he loved the French, much as he admired and honoured the King of France, who had been remarkably kind to him, he disliked the idea of acting contrary to the traditions of his House. and of being false to the moral standard and domestic ideal in which he had been educated both by precept and example. A series of letters passed between husband and wife on the subject which unfortunately have disappeared, but evidently the situation had been discussed in a temperate spirit and a compromise effected, as Lord

Ogilvy resumed his place at Court in the society of his mistress—Madame D'Aiguillon.

In the autumn of 1751 a matter of great consequence came under earnest discussion between Lord and Lady Ogilvy which caused them to exercise much anxious thought. Another child was due to arrive towards the close of the year, and should the newcomer prove to be a son and heir, they were strongly desirous, not alone on grounds of family sentiment, that he should be a native born; but chiefly for the reason that, being exiles and in the direct line of succession to the family estates, the fullest certification was required. But to venture on Scottish soil was a great risk. Some, on the pressure of business or through the irresistible desire to see their friends, had run the blockade to their undoing; others, as members of the crew, had landed at the various ports, stolen secretly to their homes under cloud of night, spent a few hours with their friends, and under cover of darkness rejoined their ship without harm. But the danger was so great both for their friends and themselves that the venture was seldom repeated. John Thomson, of course, was in the cabinet-council, and, unconcerned about himself, volunteered a journey to Cortachy Castle to learn the views of the Earl of Airlie, the result of which may be gathered from "David Glenmoy's" letter to John Ogilvy of Inshewan: "I hear that the auld Laird and his Lady are to live at the Parks near Dundee." Lord and Lady Airlie took up their residence at Auchterhouse, while John Thomson entered into an arrangement with Captain Stewart to take Lady Ogilvy on board at Rotterdam on his return to Dundee from that port; and so it came to pass that under the sagacious guardianship of this faithful henchman she arrived at Auchterhouse undiscovered. On 4th December, 1751, a son was born in the old home of the Ogilvys-the first of the surname after an interval of three hundred years—and two days after his birth he was baptised by the minister of the parish, as appears in the register:

"December 6th 1751, This day, David Ogilvy, lawful son to the Right Honourable David, Lord Ogilvy and Lady Mar-

garet Johnston, his spouse, and grandson of the Right Honourable John, Earl of Airlie, residing at Auchterhouse, was baptised in the presence of certain persons of distinction."

As soon after the birth as was safe for her to travel, and on the first chance of their sailor-friend being at Dundee for cargo, Lady Ogilvy, leaving to the care of the Countess of Airlie her son and her daughter, Margaret, now three years of age, left Scotland, which she was destined never again to see, and joined Lord Ogilvy in France.

Any attempt to obtain a remission of Lord Ogilvy's offence, much as it was discussed and great soever as it was desired by himself, was at this time hopeless, as the hereditary enemy of the House, the Duke of Argyll, was the absolute ruler of Scotland, and, as Lord Ogilvy observed in one of his letters, "nothing will come from that quarter-how long will King Argyle reign?" was in power till 1761, but, a few years before he was called hence, he was not so omnipotent. Lord-Advocate Dundas, appointed in 1754, took a firm hold of the reins. and being a fair-minded man and approachable, the Earl of Airlie made a strong effort to have his son's case considered, and, adopting the more likely way of receiving attention and, if possible, a sympathetic review, made a frank confession of the error of his ways and his regret for the attitude he had taken up in support of the Stewart claim. In extenuation of Lord Ogilvy's action he pleaded that he was "but twenty years of age then . . . that he had the misfortune to be acquainted with [name illegible] and persuaded to join"; while of himself-

"he hath since been so sensible of the errors and dangers of his principles that he ordered his only son to get education at home, and when he went to the University of Edinburgh he was boarded and put under the direction of a Doctor of Divinity of the Established Church of Scotland in whose faith he had been instructed."

On hearing of his father's effort, Lord Ogilvy was greatly overjoyed, and wrote: "God knows, if I had the chance

I would leave no stone unturned only to be home amongst you"; but he was doomed to disappointment. In 1755 another daughter was born to him, who was given the name of Joanna, "after the auld Laird of Eskside." And now began a series of trials which put his fortitude to the test. Lady Ogilvy, the joy and pride of his life, whose bright spirit and happy disposition had been to him an inspiration, had never recovered her strength after the birth of her daughter, and died at Boulogne in 1757 at the age of thirty-three. "The light of my life has gone out," he wrote, and the otherwise buoyant spirit suffered eclipse. Ever hopeful of his father's efforts succeeding, he heard with dismay that after two days' illness the Earl of Airlie had died at Cortachy Castle on 24th July, 1761. On 6th August following, "James Eskside," writing to a friend, said:

"The worthy honest old Laird's death will be no surprise to you. He died about midday the 24th last month seemingly with ease and never complained till two days before his death. He was buried on the 30th past, decently without much pomp or show. The company invited to witness it were 70, and 50 or thereby attended."

As, three months before, the Duke of Argyll had gone the way of all the earth, Lord Ogilvy, realising that he must now rely upon his own resources, and since the estates were held in trust against his return, opened up a series of overtures to regain, if possible, his liberty. Writing to John Ogilvy of Inshewan, "Hague, 31st August 1761," "James Douglas" suggested that

"the young Laird [his brother Walter] should go to the Capital of the nation and get himself presented to Argyle's successor and the other who governs the south; and should write the Viscountess Primrose and Lady Hervey who would put him in the right channel, and in general to avoid explaining himself to understrappers in that great town. I entreat him to cultivate the high sheriff of the country's acquaintance, Panmure's, and our relations the Lyons, and to heal up all former jealousies; and I recommend you as my oldest and surest friend . . . for God's sake make friends with my mother: if they all agree amongst themselves all will be well.

Urge upon the young Laird in all this to use great discretion, for there's a hump'd foreigner in the south capital for some tyme past that I should be sorry he knew anything of this."

All the influence that was brought to bear, however, was unavailing. Lord Ogilvy had been a leader in the fight from the initiation of the movement in France, and even now was a high-placed officer in the army of an enemy country, which militated against him, while unfortunately the suspicion was abroad that he still held communication with the Chevalier de St. George, now settled in Rome. Of his activity in the French service he was very proud, and his loyalty to the last of the Stewarts he did not conceal. "Le Régiment Ogilvy," in the service of Louis XV., took the oath of allegiance to "King James VIII.," who was Commander in Chief, to whom appointments and promotions were submitted, while the following letter discloses Lord Ogilvy's attitude of mind —that he was loval to his ideal and impenitent for the action he had taken:

"SIR,

I am sorry to acquaint your Majesty that you have to-day los'd a very worthy subject, Sir William Gordon of Park, Lieut.-Colonel of the Regiment I command. Your Majesty will have many solicitations about his Commission no doubt, as all the Captains of my Regiment have their Commissions of the same date. I ask it as a particular favour of your Majesty to allow me to name John Ogilvy of Inshewan, my near relation, and a captain just now in the Regiment, to that appointment. The family I am come of have had so many marks of your Royal predecessors' favours that I flatter myself your Majesty won't refuse me this grace. Mr. Edgar can inform your Majesty particularly as to this gentleman's reputation who upon my word I would not propose if I were not sure he w'd be agreeable to the greater part of the Corps. . . . I ask your Majesty's pardon for writing so long a letter, and am with the profoundest respect,

Sir, Your Majesty's most dutiful and obedient humble servant

OGILVY."

But after the Earl of Airlie's death his ardour for the Stewart cause cooled considerably, and he realised the hopelessness of it. As one after another sought and obtained reconciliation with the Government, he, too, turned his thoughts in that direction. His Chief Lieutenant, Sir James Kinloch, whose extreme penalty had been commuted to imprisonment for life, had, in 1764, been granted liberty to return to his own country, and this inspired him with hope. In a letter, dated "Hague 28th September 1764," "David Forter" wrote:

"I am glade to hear that the worthy Knight of the Strath has got at last out of Purgatory and is in your part of the world."

About this time, too, a change took place which caused him to think all the more intently of home. Through the operation of various circumstances, but chiefly resulting from the fact that a considerable number of "Le Régiment Ogilvy" had gone to Portugal, where, with the prospect of fighting, they joined the army of that country, the numbers had been so depleted that it was attached to another regiment:

"That you may not be surprised with the news, I advertise you of it. I foresaw the thing . . . there was no Physick of it. But I stand to lose about £250 a year which will do me much harm."

In course of time, when the regiment was disbanded, Louis XV. granted Lord Ogilvy a pension. And this is how he informed his friends by a letter dated 18th April, 1763, signed "James Glenmoy":

"Our shop broke up the 20th March: my share is just £1,200 a year, the first of which wont be paid till the 20th September next."

In this letter he was overjoyed at the prospect of a visit from "Glenprosen" (his brother Walter), and goes on to say:

"I hope Des—rd or none else will prevent his journey because, besides the satisfaction it will give me to be personally acquainted with an only brother I love from the bottom of my soul, we have many weighty matters to settle and reason on."

Hitherto, on his friends suggesting that he should petition the Crown direct, Lord Ogilvy was immovable in his opposition; he would ask no favour of the "hump'd foreigner"; but now that George III. was King and "His Majesty James VIII." was no more, he was inclined to swallow his pride and seek reconciliation. It took him, however, a long time to bring himself to this stage. Meanwhile his thoughts were otherwise engaged. The brilliant attractions of the French Court, the gay scenes in which he mingled with the best society of the country, himself a centre of attraction and hailed everywhere as "Le Bel Écossais," began to pall on his manly, honest nature, ever sound at heart and respectful of those high moral principles which for centuries had been the pillars of his House. He loved the simple home-life, the domestic quiet, and the social intercourse of his friends. The glamour and novelty of the Court charmed him for a time, but like the man of wisdom who gave "his heart to know madness and folly, and perceived that this also is vanity and vexation of spirit," he found that it did not fill the void created by the absence of home and kindred. An idea of his mood may be gathered from a letter written to John Ogilvy of Inshewan, dated "Hague, 14th February 1763," where he had gone to reside in the hope that, being in friendly Holland, he might temper the old feeling against him. He had suggested to his relative that he might go to London and sound the powers there on the chances of any overture being entertained.

"What I wrote most pressingly was the London visit. I did so because I know a man bred in the country would almost as soon go to hell as to any court, and they are in the right when people have nothing to ask."

In 1770 Lord Ogilvy married again. Like himself, Sir James Stewart of Blairhall, Longforgan, had been in exile since 1746 and lived in Holland, where his wife joined him soon after the attainder and forfeiture of his estates. A fellow-feeling arising out of an experience in common brought the exiled families together in sym-

pathetic accord, and in his visits to Holland Lord Ogilvy was usually the guest of Sir James Stewart, whose third daughter, Anne, was sufficiently handsome to attract his attention at this time when a home-life was revived within him, and he married her with what result will be seen presently. But the immediate effect was a passionate desire for home. Too proud hitherto to ask a favour, now he would make any sacrifice to get back to Cortachy:

"I'm trying all irons to get back. The Duke of Choiseul is to ask it in his Majesty's name, though I have no vast hopes in that, but the thing's possible."

It was not, however, till 1778 that the proposal was entertained, when, owing to the intercession of Louis XVI., George III. by an Act of Parliament removed "certain disabilities," and by a free pardon under the Great Seal, 30th May, 1778, relieved him from the ban of outlawry and the charge of high treason. Ten years later he was restored to the "full rights of British citizenship"; "being," as David Smith of Lundie said in conveying his congratulations, "in that respect an occasion so much more agreeable to yourself than when you first returned to Scotland."

Of all the members of the House of Airlie, perhaps the most lovable, because of his urbanity and genuine goodness of heart, was David, eleventh Lord Ogilvy and titular Earl of Airlie. On his return from exile, the first business he set himself was to seek out the survivors of his regiment of the '45, making himself acquainted with their circumstances, and where there was need he proffered his help; while the dependents of those who fell in the field were the objects of his care and the recipients of his bounty. His romantic and chivalrous nature, buoyant and light of heart, ever prone to take a cheerful view of things, though chastened by two and thirty years of exile, he never allowed to fall under eclipse. There was, however, one thing which depressed him beyond words. His only son, while a boy of twelve, had been taken to Holland to see him, and although the visit was limited to three weeks, Lord Ogilvy gathered that "he was not very bookish inclined"; yet he was greatly concerned over "young Kinwhirrie's education," and proposed that he should be sent to a good school, preferably in his own country and to a Scottish University; forbidding the English Universities, as "I never saw any come out of them that were models except for being Jokeys, Gamesters, and Debochees." Repeatedly he returned to the problem of his son's education, and urged the need of having him properly equipped in his intellectual furnishing; and while in response to his orders a tutor was engaged, the reports of his progress were not encouraging. In the hope of awakening his interest, when it was suggested that he should be sent to an English school, where the stimulus of new surroundings might act as an inspiration, the titular Earl of Airlie disliked the idea:

"I own I have a good deal of difficulty in dyeing Kinwhirrie's coat blue. I leave that to Mr. Baneboth [his brother Walter] and your good judgment, I own I am some squeamish about it."

He indulged the hope when his education was over of sending the youth on the Grand Tour, like so many of his forefathers.

"I have a very worthy man in my eye to put about him when he leaves the school but just now he's making the tour of Italy with an English gentleman whose father's orthodox."

But the titular Lord Ogilvy failed to justify such high expectation. As he advanced in years he grew more hopeless, and his education was abandoned. "Not bookish inclined," the titular Earl of Airlie had not been informed of the actual posture of affairs, so that when he returned to Cortachy in 1778 he made the painful discovery that his son, now twenty-seven years of age, was practically an imbecile. The truth when he realised it gave him a great shock which clouded his after-life. He hoped against hope "that he might recover his reason," and on the chance of this he made his final settlement in his favour. His daughter, Margaret,

whom he had not seen since she was three years of age, who was married at Cortachy on 25th November, 1769, to Sir John Wedderburn of Ballindean, had died on the birth of her son, 23rd March, 1775. The remaining member of the family, Joanna, born in France, brought up and educated in the gay capital of that country, while she came to Cortachy with her father, was far from being happy in her new surroundings, felt the place dull and the people uninteresting, and at length returned to Paris, where she died unmarried in 1826. And then, as if to crown his sorrows, a domestic rupture took place for which in part he was not altogether blameless. titular Earl of Airlie, who from his long residence in France had come to be attached to French ways of life, kept a French cook and butler, and wore the dress of a Colonel of the French Guards, had in other respects also continued the habits to which he had been accustomed in that country. He spoke perfect French, delighted to converse in that language, and spoke his native tongue with a French accent which he tried hard to overcome. Except the entertainment of friends from France, many of whom made visits to Cortachy from time to timeindeed, for many years he was seldom without the company of some kindred spirits from that land of hospitality who rejoiced in the friendship of "Le Bel Écossais "-he preferred a quiet life of unostentations simplicity amid the rural scenes of the Esk, the Prosen, and the Isla, while nothing delighted him more than unaffected intercourse with his own people in the glens and along the Braes of Angus. With all and sundry he was immensely popular. His free-and-easy manner, his kindly humanity as he rode over the estates, visiting every farmhouse and cottage, taking a full-hearted interest in all their concerns, made him a great favourite, and he was affectionately known, notwithstanding the legal prohibition, as the Earl of Airlie. This title he did not himself assume, but on all hands it was frankly given in open protest against the disability. His wife was not so scrupulous. Narrow-minded, peevish, and flighty, she resented the retiring disposition of her husband and his

choice of rural simplicity. She loved to be in the limelight, and had a great passion for display. Apart from other causes of domestic dispute which need not be discussed, at the time when it may be said Lord Airlie was living on parole, having been relieved only "of certain disabilities" and not yet restored to the privileges of citizenship, and when it was both politic and prudent, as indeed it was agreeable to his modest unassuming disposition, that he should cultivate reserve, Lady Airlie, contrary to his wish and in opposition to his desire, broke forth in a blaze of publicity which greatly offended him and which he never forgave. A native of Longforgan, near Dundee, and assuming the full plumage of a Countess, to which under the circumstances he objected, she ventilated the proposal of giving a grand ball in the city on a lavish scale. He pointed out to her the impropriety of it, and urged that as he was then situated it would be unseemly, and begged of her to abandon the idea. But as she apparently was not possessed of his delicate judgment or discriminating taste, she could not look at the proposition from his point of view. Trusting to his good-nature and invariable kindness, she insisted, but he refused his sanction or approval; warning her at length that if she carried out her project she would forfeit his friendship. She held her ball in the city of Dundee and lost her husband. He never saw or spoke to her again. When she returned to Cortachy Castle after the festivity, he refused to meet her; sending a message that henceforth they should live apart. He took a house for her in Broughty-Ferry, called Airlie Lodge, where she lived for nearly fifteen years on a substantial allowance, and where she died on 27th December, 1798. During the ten years of what may be described as his probationary experience, the titular Earl of Airlie had under consideration certain schemes affecting the Airlie estates which only awaited the restoration of his legal status as a citizen to be put into execution. It may be remembered that in order to purchase Auchterhouse in 1716, the then Earl of Airlie sold the lands of Glenprosen, reserving the superiority, which, in 1745, was

conveyed by John, fourth Earl of Airlie, to his second son, Walter. It had been the desire of this Earl to have Glenprosen brought again into the family: but the circumstances of the '45 and the large expenditure Lord Ogilvy's regiment entailed precluded the idea. This, however, was now accomplished. The lands of Banff and the harbour there, which had been in possession of the House of Airlie for over two centuries, were sold to the Earl of Fife, and Glenprosen, according to the terms of sale, was bought back again; and in the goodness of his heart, in recompense for the care he had taken of his interests during the long years of his exile in France, Lord Airlie made a gift of the beautiful glen to his brother Walter. Another part of the family possessions strongly appealed to the romantic element in his nature. Since 1640, Airlie Castle, on which, in 1623, the first Earl of Airlie had made considerable improvements and which two years later he occupied as his chief residence. had remained a ruin, for the principal reason that its restoration to its original dimensions was in the then state of the family purse prohibitive. The place where for nearly three hundred years his ancestors had lived, its picturesque beauty, its romantic story, its traditions of loyalty and sacrifice for the House of Stewart, which had exacted a large toll of his own life's history, had a wonderful fascination for him, and had his purse been deep enough, so enamoured was he of this old home of the Airlies, the ancient Fortalice would have smiled again in something like its pristine splendour. Its situation. its history, its romance, and the poetry which has enshrined it in the hearts of the Scottish people, might have called for such a resurrection; but, as it was, this was beyond his resources. In 1792-3 he built the present Though but a small part of the ancient structure, it was a costly business. With the exception of the ground-floor, which escaped the burning and is still unaffected by the ravages of time and the effect of the weather, the walls were rebuilt out of the old material, the ancient tower restored, and the fortified part preserved. In the early summer of 1794 Lord Airlie took

up his residence in this home of his forefathers, and during the remainder of his life lived there for half the year. Although he was generally known as "the fighting Lord," he lived a quiet, retired life, devoting his time and his energies to the improvement of his estates, bringing the knowledge he had acquired during his stay in France into requisition. A model landlord, his goodnature and generous disposition were frequently taken advantage of, and although shrewd enough to see it, his nice fund of humour could not resist the sport of it, though to his cost. A smallholder on the estate had his lease on what was regarded as very easy terms, but the cunning hillman would never admit it. On his annual visit Lord Airlie was wont to inquire how matters were prospering, and invariably received the reply: "Tichtie, my lord, tichtie." From time to time the rent was reduced, but always the same answer was vouchsafed, till at length it reached vanishing-point, and still it was "Tichtie, my lord, tichtie." At last, out of sheer good-humour, he asked if in the event of getting the place rent-free he thought he would succeed; the crofter cautiously admitted: "Weel, my lord, it micht be a help, but it'll be fell tichtie." John Thomson, as might be expected on his return to Cortachy after the hazards of the '45 and the long years of faithful service in France, was a privileged person. Shortly after he had settled in the Castle, Lord Airlie, in the belief that he was doing his henchman a good turn, offered him a situation as overseer, but to this John demurred. On pointing out that it was a good position and a place of trust for which he was well qualified, "That may weel be, Davie, but I've aye been my ain maister, and I'm no tae tak on wi' service now." John Thomson had sprung a surprise on his lordship. On the occasion of his return to Scotland in 1778, when all the family belongings had been placed on board and Lord Airlie had taken his place on deck, at the last moment John hurriedly appeared on the gangway accompanied by a Frenchwoman carrying a fairly heavy trunk. On inquiring who his companion might be, John whispered: "She's my wife, Davie; hoo

d'ye think she'll dae?" On perceiving his intimate relations with a lord who had the entrée to the French Court, his French wife concluded that John was not far short of a peer of the realm; and so, to keep his colours flying, he suggested to Lord Airlie that he would prefer a farm, and forthwith he was given rent-free the farm of Wardend in Lintrathen, where he died three years before the master whom he had served so faithfully, and who in return watched over him in his declining years as tenderly as a nurse.

Though frequently urged by his friends, who were only too willing to exert all possible influence in his favour, to petition the Crown for a reversal of the attainder, the titular Earl of Airlie obdurately declined. thought that as George III., on the death of Charles Edward Stewart in 1788, had immediately restored him to the privileges of British citizenship—now that the last of the male line of the Stewarts, Henry Benedict, the younger brother of Prince Charles Edward, who, although in Holy Orders and a Cardinal to boot, had assumed the title of Henry IX. with the naïve admission "Gratia Dei sed non voluntate hominum," had yet renounced all thought of ever aspiring to the throne of so heretical a people, but graciously accepted out of the public purse a pension of £4,000 a year—His Majesty might not now be averse to go the full length of reinstating him in his honours and dignity. But what chance there might have been of so desirable a consummation was frustated by the outbreak of the French Revolution, which shook the foundation of every European State and caused grave anxiety to the Crown and Ministry of the British dominions. The new doctrines of "liberty, fraternity, equality," preached at every street corner in France, found their echo throughout many parts of England and Scotland, and societies were formed whose members took "the French oath to be free or die." In such a turbulent and heated atmosphere, aroused into fury by the subsequent declaration of war by France against Great Britain and Holland, all hope of redeeming the family honours had perforce to be abandoned.

To Lord Airlie the upheaval in France was a painful experience. He loved the country; its literature, of which he had an abounding share; but when the news reached him of the execution of his friend, patron, and benefactor, Louis XVI., he renounced all his attachment to it, refused to draw his pension of £1,200 a year, and when later Napoleon Bonaparte proposed its continuance with payment of arrears, he declined the offer. France was no longer the beloved country he had cherished; the French people, so charming, vivacious, picturesque in their manners, and delightful idealists in their modes of thought, he now despised for the cruel murder of his friend their King. The last few years of his life witnessed stirring times in the body politic. He saw the Dundas ascendency, the all-powerful influence of the two brothers, Henry and Robert; and had the happiness to see his granddaughter, Margaret Wedderburn, married to a son of the latter. Of a studious turn of mind and a voracious reader, he fell heir to that great wealth of literature which poured forth in rich abundance from the pen of David Hume, Principal Robertson, John Home, Lord Kames, and other members of the famous "Poker Club." He had seen the fame of Robert Burns and had made the acquaintance of Walter Scott, whose genius was yet in the bud. He saw the rise of the evangelical party in the Church, whose fervid piety was destined to arouse the nation into a great passion for religion. All these movements reached him, and he watched them at a distance as he pursued his quiet pastoral life among his own people. Ever bright and cheerful, his was yet a chastened spirit. He had passed through the furnace, which had purified the fine elements of his nature. By nature kind, considerate, sympathetic, he was made pre-eminently so by the trials he endured, and by that greatest of all sorrows, a living grief. All the people admired him for his manly bearing, his exquisite good-humour, his generosity, his interest in all that concerned them, his free-and-easy manner, his happy disposition; and when he died at Cortachy Castle on 3rd March, 1803, having just com-

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pleted his seventy-eighth year, he was lamented in a measure and to a degree as perhaps no other member of his House had ever been.

## WALTER OGILVY OF CLOVA

By his settlement the Airlie estates were left in trust to his weak-minded son, David, who on his father's death became titular Earl of Airlie. To the last he indulged the hope that he might "recover his understanding," in which case it was provided that he should take possession; but on the contrary, his brother, Walter, was appointed curator bonis, while he had made provision to be succeeded in the estates by his heir-male—a loose phrase which gave rise to a painful lawsuit. In his fiftysecond year at his father's death, apart from parental fondness, there was no hope that David would ever be otherwise than he had been. Endowed with a native shrewdness, he was interested in pastoral and agricultural affairs, and loved to be among animals. The farm of Kinalty was assigned to him, where he lived with a male attendant and employed his time watching the workers about the holding; but he was altogether incapable of understanding the rationality of business. He died there on 6th April, 1812, at the age of sixty-one. It was no doubt the intention of the late Lord Airlie that on his son's death his brother, Walter, should succeed to the Airlie estates; but lawyer's wills, like Acts of Parliament, are frequently a source of providing provender for the legal profession, and all for the want of using plain English instead of a series of hackneyed phrases. Sir David Wedderburn, the late Earl's grandson, claimed to be heir-male, and raised an action in the Court of Session in 1809. The decision, however, after a long and costly process, was in favour of Walter Ogilvy on the strength of the terms of entail. This lawsuit was all the more regrettable as David of the '45, out of the largeness of his heart and his abounding charity, had died deeply involved in debt, which, in a letter to his son, John, on 2nd February, 1809, Walter Ogilvy stated "were very considerable, and, but for this action, might have been paid in the course of six or seven years."

The younger brother of our hero of the '45, Walter Ogilvy, was born at Cortachy Castle in 1733. He had none of the romantic elements of his brother. During the campaign of Charles Edward he was a boy of twelve at school in Dundee, where he remained under a tutor till at the age of seventeen he proceeded to the University of Edinburgh. There he took the full course in arts. and after four years' study entered the Law Classes and was called to the Bar, being admitted Advocate on 19th February, 1757. While pursuing his studies he "was boarded with a Doctor of Divinity," one of the city ministers; and as if to divert suspicion of the Jacobite proclivities of the family, he identified himself with the Church of Scotland, becoming, like his father. the Earl of Airlie, a communicant of the Presbyterian fold. The attitude of the House of Airlie had ever been frankly Episcopal. The first Earl of Airlie was a valiant defender of Episcopal orders, and supported Charles I. in his attempt to force Laud's Liturgy upon the Church of Scotland. The second Earl of Airlie took an active part in the restoration of Episcopacy by Charles II., and took the field to impress the nation into conformity; but being a man of broad mind and good-humour, when undiluted Presbytery was established at the Revolution Settlement, though he did not approve the change, he did not desert the Church. The family tradition in respect to Church polity has been since that time to worship with the body of the people in the parish church, and on festival days and national occasions to attend the service in their own communion. Walter Ogilvy, though called to the Bar, did not pursue his profession for any length of time. It is not known that he ever appeared to uphold a brief in "the dim religious light of the old Parliament House"; or ever had the novel experience of the budding counsel of receiving a case with a fee:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Then hasting homewards with such prospects big,"
Next day beheld him in a full-blown wig."



WALTER (TITULAR) EARL OF AIRLIE. (From portrait at Cortachy Castle.)

Whatever may have been his talent as an expounder of the law, he was not allowed "year after year to saunter through the hall," awaiting "the hoped-for fees," as under the particular circumstances he was called to Cortachy to attend to family and estate business, in which his special knowledge was of use; and as shortly after his return the Earl of Airlie died, the factorial management of the property devolved upon him as trustee for his exiled brother. At the time of his father's death he had an affair of pleasure on hand which that event delayed for a few months. He had informed the exile of his intentions and prospects, and where he had set his affections. He had been from his youth up a roving lover, and was particularly fond of the society of the fair sex; but now he was to settle down to family life. "I hear," wrote "James Eskside" to a fellowexile living in "Dunquerque," on "6th August 1761," "that the young Laird has tired of his single state of life and has thoughts of changing it for double harness: and has I am told Mr. Lindsay's youngest sister Miss Peggy, in view. Good luck to him." In December, 1761, the marriage contract being dated 23rd October, 1761, Walter Ogilvy married Margaret, daughter of William Fullarton of that ilk, whose wife was Margaret Lindsay, heiress of Spynie; and their only son, agreeably to the deed of entail, assumed the surname, arms, and title of Lindsay of Spynie. The young couple made their home at Cortachy Castle with the widowed Countess of Airlie, which did not prove a very happy arrangement. The young wife aspired to be mistress. while the old lady was not of a mind to resign the reins of government. Consequently there was trouble on foot, the knowledge of which greatly troubled "Le Bel Écossais," who in the goodness of his heart did not wish his mother incommoded. "I have intreated the old Lady," he wrote to John Ogilvy of Inshewan, "not to separate familys, because that would be very detrimental to the family and that I had every confidence in her." The Countess of Airlie died in 1767, and Walter Ogilvy and his wife continued to live at Cortachy Castle till.

on Lord Airlie's return from France in 1778, they removed to Balnaboth in Glenprosen. A delicate woman of fragile constitution, she never enjoyed anything like good health, and died without issue at Balnaboth on 3rd June, 1780. A few weeks after her death, Dr. Ogilvy of Forfar, who had attended her during her long illness, made a ceremonial call on the sorrowing and afflicted widower to condole with him, and, it may be, to fortify him in his time of desolation. The doctor was Laird of Murkle, a cadet of the House of Airlie, being the chief representative of the Ogilvys of Balfour, who were descended from Walter, third son of James, first Lord Ogilvy of Airlie, while his wife was of the same race, being a daughter of John Ogilvy of Inshewan. The medical practitioner of Forfar had a considerable family, of which he was very proud, one daughter especially being his favourite—a tall, strapping, buxom queen in the heyday of her youth, who frequently rode into the country with her father, being an expert horsewoman with a strong flavour of the Amazonian spirit in her composition. The chief cause of Walter Ogilvy's lamentation, however, was not so much the unfortunate death of his spouse as the fact that she had not left behind her any nuptial fruit. In the circumstances this was not only desirable but highly necessary. With Lord Airlie's weak-minded son as the only heir-male in the direct line and no chance of any addition to the stock from that quarter, it became essential on his part, having regard to the family honours, to make sure of the succession. The thought of failure depressed him. The darkest cloud of his bereavement was not so much that his wife was gone but his quiver was empty. The worthy doctor of medicine was no Job's comforter, but a thoroughly practical man who could ease the mind as well as heal the body; and seeing Walter Ogilvy's anxiety and the force of it, he proffered the suggestion: "Would ye no just marry my dochter, Jean?" This was a soothing cordial to the afflicted, sorrow-stricken widower. The seed fell upon good ground which had been so recently watered by the shower of grief, and it

immediately sprang into "the blade, then the ear, and after that full corn in the ear." When he broke the news of his engagement and his reason for its expedition to his brother, David, Lord Airlie congratulated him on his zeal for the cause, assuring him that "there will now be no lack of heirs: Jean 'ill mak that a' richt." Five months after the death of his wife, on 12th November, 1780, the marriage was celebrated at Forfar, the bride having just completed her eighteenth year. A lusty maiden, she did not disappoint his hopes: she was indeed "the fruitful vine on the wall of his house, and children like olive branches spread round his table." There was a family of eleven-five sons and six daughters. Of the latter, three-Margaret, Helen, and Mary—were remarkably handsome women, and were regarded as the reigning beauties of their day, the toasts of the fashionable society of Edinburgh, which was still the meeting-place of the nobility of Scotland. On the death of Lady Airlie, "Le Bel Écossais'" second wife, at Airlie Lodge in 1798, Walter Ogilvy took up his residence there as being convenient for the education of his family.

1. The eldest son, John, born at Balnaboth in 1782, joined the Army, receiving a commission in the Royal Scots. In 1800 his regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Gardyne, went to Malta, where he remained for the best part of a year. The following year he went to Egypt, where, on 1st April, 1801, his superior wrote: "He is much esteemed by all the officers and is in great health and spirits." In 1803 he went to the West Indies, where he was promoted to the rank of Captain; and in 1808 he was stationed at Berbice, where he was stricken by a serious illness, the first news of which reached his parents through Lord Arbuthnott, whose brother, William, an officer in the Royal Artillery, was also on duty there. The inhospitable climates he had lived in during these years and the no less frequently insanitary quarters undermined his health, and although every effort was made to have him brought home, he died at Berbice on 24th August, 1809.

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- 2. David, who recovered the family honours, will be dealt with later.
- 3. Donald, who was born in May, 1788, joined the East India Company's service, in which he remained till his father's succession in 1812, when, falling heir to the lands of Clova, the traditionary provision for the second son of the family, he returned to Scotland. In February. 1815, he married Maria, fourth daughter of James Morley. On 3rd October, 1831, he was returned Member of Parliament for the county of Forfar. The defeat of the first Reform Bill for England in May of this year was followed by a General Election, which took place on the old register of voters known as "Parchment Barons," nominal freeholders to whom land was given in trust only by the great county families on the understanding that the consequential vote was cast in favour of their interest. While in burghs the town councils were the electing body, in the counties the franchise was exclusively in the hands of the freeholders, of whom more than half were "Parchment Voters." The Reform Bill of 1832, which received the royal assent on 17th July and made a revolution in the electoral franchise, abolishing the "Parchment Barons" in counties and creating a mixed body of freeholders and leaseholders with varying qualifications, and in burghs, in place of the town councils, the electorate being composed of householders with a qualification of £10, was followed of necessity by another General Election, when Donald Ogilvy was defeated in December, 1832. In 1828, in conjunction with his brother David, now Earl of Airlie, he established a mission, or preaching stations, at Clova and Glenprosen, to provide religious instruction for the inhabitants of these districts, and apart from a grant by the Royal Bounty, financed the missionary who conducted services in both places, which in course of time were erected into parishes quoad sacra. He was Colonel of the Forfar and Kincardine Militia, and Deputy-Lieutenant of the county of Angus. Predeceased by his wife in 1843, he died on 30th December, 1863, and was succeeded by his second son, Donald, in the Bengal Civil

Service, who, returning on his father's death, married, in 1867, Anne Sarah, second daughter of John Ogilvy of Inshewan, who survived her husband and is the present owner of Glenprosen.

- 4. Charles, who died in infancy.
- 5. William, born in December, 1794, joined the Navy, and on 5th December, 1806, boarded the training-ship *Mars* at Torbay.

In a letter to his father, dated at Plymouth Docks, he informs him: "My fitting out comes to £31 1s. 4d., and Mrs. Smith, the Admiral's Secretary, thinks it very cheap." He is described by his Commander, Captain Drummond, as "a fine sweet-tempered boy and is much beloved by his brother officers"; and writing to his son John, then in Berbice in 1808, Walter Ogilvy says: "We had a most favourable account lately of your brother William, he is a most capable officer." midshipman, however, was too much of a landsman to be enamoured of the lonely deep. His beautiful home in Glenprosen, with its purple hills, rugged and steep, its undulating valleys and winding river, had made too deep an impression on his youthful mind to make him easily satisfied with the monotony of the sea. He loved the glens and their poetry, and writing to his mother, suggesting a change of his profession, said: "All my ancestors have been soldiers, and I would like to be a soldier too." Accordingly, in 1809, he left the Navy and joined the Army as an Ensign, and received a commission in the 52nd Regiment, of which Lord Arbuthnott's brother, Hugh, was Lieutenant-Colonel. He proceeded in 1810 to Spain, and took part in the Peninsular War, distinguishing himself in many actions and being mentioned in despatches at such important engagements as Vittoria, San Sebastian, Salamanca, Toularisa, and Badajos, for which he held the Peninsular Medal and seven clasps. At the Battle of Waterloo he was with the 52nd Regiment of Foot, and behaved with such remarkable gallantry and resource that he was promoted on the field to the rank of Captain. So terrible was the attack of the French that the company of the corps to which he was attached was almost completely decimated; few escaped being either killed or wounded. All the senior officers being hors de combat, he rallied the remaining forces and held the position till reinforcements arrived; for which act of skill and bravery he received special mention. Waterloo was with him a great memory. On the 18th June of every year during his lifetime he had a Waterloo dinner, to which he invited his soldier friends, and lived over again his exploits on that historical field of battle.

He had lived a charmed life in those scenes of carnage, and escaped the perils of the sword with but slight wounds which did not greatly disturb his equanimity; but on his way home after the war he had an unfortunate experience which for years made him very sensitive. He put up at an hotel in London, where he was given a room in the bed of which a man had died a few days before of smallpox. For two nights he occupied the same bed and contracted the disease. He was seriously ill and for a time was in a critical condition. He recovered, but his face was deeply marked, about which he was so sensitive that he lived in comparative seclusion.

By a disposition in 1744, John, Earl of Airlie, conveyed to Walter Ogilvy the lands of Balloch, Macritch, and Bastardbanke, the first-named including Loyal. On succeeding to the Airlie estates on the death of his nephew in 1812, Walter Ogilvy made a disposition in favour of his son William of these lands in 1815; and five years later, David, his brother, on his succession and his removal to Cortachy Castle, granted him the use of Airlie Castle during his pleasure. About 1826 Captain Ogilvy took up his residence in the old family homestead, surrounded by its natural beauties and its cherished memories. There he lived a quiet, retired life till 1831, when the fever of Reform drew him into public controversy in a contest of what were then known as "the Eastern District of Burghs," comprising St. Andrews, Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose, when he was successful, and although a staunch Conservative or,

like the tradition of his House, a high Tory, he voted for the Reform Bill of that troubled period of political agitation, but, as in the case of his brother Donald, was defeated at the subsequent General Election. In 1850 he built the present house of Loval, and took up his residence there, where he lived till 1871, when he died unmarried, and by his will left the lands of which he was proprietor to his nephew, the Earl of Airlie.

- 6. Margaret, the first-born of the family, one of the trio of reigning beauties of their day, a woman of stately presence and striking personality, was born at Balnaboth in 1781, and was married at the Parish Church of Cortachy on 25th June, 1805, to John, eighth Viscount Arbuthnott. They took up residence at Auchterhouse. where they continued to live for the first five years of their married life. In a letter to his son John, dated "2nd February 1809," Walter Ogilvy gives the news, "Your sister Lady Arbuthnott has brought into the world another boy. They have already what they call the wise man's wish, two sons and one daughter." But children seem to have followed hard upon each other, as in a letter dated "Cortachy, 18th November 1812," "Jean Airly" informs her son Donald, in India, "Your sister, Margaret, has increased the family of Arbuthnott very much: she is now mother of six fine children, three of each kind." But this number was considerably increased in after-years, as she had a family of thirteen.
- 7. Susan, who died at Balnaboth, 2nd May, 1787, in infancy.
- 8. Anne, born 1785, was of an eccentric turn of mind and very peculiar, the victim of strange fancies. She lived with her brother William at Airlie Castle, who exercised great care over her during her lifetime and till her death there in 1848.
- 9. Jean, born 1786, died at Cortachy Castle, 23rd November, 1807.
- 10. Mary, born 1796, one of the three noted sisters and par excellence the commanding beauty of the family. The finest type of womanhood, she was devoted to her brother William, with whom she lived, and as nothing

short of a coronet would please her, this not being forthcoming, she missed her market, and died unmarried at Loyal on 1st October, 1868.

11. Helen, the remaining member of the beautiful trio, who, with her sisters Anne and Mary, made her home at Airlie Castle with her bachelor brother, was born at Balnaboth, 12th February, 1798. On 30th April, 1823, at Airlie, she married John, second son of John Wedderburn and his wife Mary Wisdom, daughter of George Bedward of Jamaica, and great-grandson of Sir Alexander Wedderburn, fourth Baronet of Blackness. She lived for many years at Prospect, Jamaica, but subsequently returned to this country and died at Rosebank, 27th April, 1868, and was buried at Roslin Chapel.

Walter Ogilvy appears upon the stage at this time in a sharp contrast of character. There is an incident reminiscent of feudal customs—an echo of the time when landed proprietors had the power of judging in civil and criminal causes among their dependents, and although the power was abrogated in 1747, fifty years after it would seem that the custom still lingered among the Celtic population, though it must have been on a voluntary footing. Although shorn of legality, it shows at once the strong hold that the feudal system had upon the rank and file of the country, and the attachment of the people to the landlord. Alexander Edward in Bush and John Duncan in Doal, in the parish of Clova, had, as they confessed, "the misfortune to have been in bad peace and neighbourhood" to such an extent that they could not meet on the King's highway without occasioning high words, and not infrequently resorting to blows. "To prevent which in time coming," Walter Ogilvy drew up a deed by which they obliged themselves hereafter

"that if it shall happen in any time coming that any verbal or real injury is given by one of us to the other by w<sup>ch</sup> is meant any evil speech or deed whatever that in either of these cases the person who does the injury upon sufficient conviction before our Landlord, Walter Ogilvy of Clova, and in his determina-

tion, shall not only be subjected to a fine such as he shall see cause to impose, but shall thereby subject himself to be removed from his possession at the first term of Whitsunday thereafter, notwithstanding any tack or minute of tack in our possession, or woh may be afterwards given to either of us."

An admirable example of the great influence he exercised in the Glens of Prosen and Clova to maintain peace and good neighbourhood among his tenants, yet some sarcastic person might have said to Walter Ogilvy: "Physician, heal thyself." For while he was thus employed in the laudable purpose of preserving the peace of his dependents, he either inadvertently, or, it may be, foolishly, was the cause of serious disturbance in his own family circle. Perhaps this was in large measure the result of a jealous disposition of mind. Of a goodnatured, easy-going temperament, free, affable, and familiar, warm-hearted and susceptible to the charms of maidenhood, his casual attentions brought upon him the wrath of an offended spouse, who combined with a magisterial temper a suspicious mind that, far from breathing "his faults so quaintly that they might seem the taints of liberty," rushed into a legal process, bringing against her husband a serious charge of infidelity which she failed to substantiate. It was an unpleasant as it was an unfortunate episode in what at all times was not a domestic paradise. While living at Airlie Lodge in 1798, Mrs. Jean Ogilvy, a woman of strong will and masculine character, autocratic and vindictive, and withal of a jealous mind, suspected her amorous husband of a round of pleasantries with the servants at Balnaboth, and in the heat of her temper raised an action of divorce against him on the ground of adultery. But, finding that she had either overshot her bolt or that necessary proof was not forthcoming, she repented her hasty charge and did not prosecute her suit. She might, however, have imperilled her home-life and that of her family by her precipitate action but for the fact that Walter Ogilvy, far from being resentful, was inclined to humour and forgive the exposure of their domestic infelicities. The storm blew over, and, as usually happens in the realm of Nature, it was succeeded by a great calm; the enraged spouse performing "the work meet for repentance" by an enhanced sympathy for her offended lord, and a redoubled care over him in his old age, and in the troubles incidental to it.

In a letter to her son Donald, then in India, dated 18th November, 1812, subscribed "Jean Airly," referring to the series of lawsuits which followed upon the death of "Le Bel Écossais," the claim of his grandson, Sir David Wedderburn, to be served heir-male to the estates and honours, and other actions of divers character, she wrote of her husband in a mellow tone and of sympathetic strain:

"he was very much difficulted and harrazed with most unpleasant Law-suits crowding on each other, which proved a source of distress to all the family, but particularly to him who should be made at his time of life as quiet and tranquil as possible. But now, since the death of his nephew at Kinalty, the late Lord, all these disagreeables will I hope be at an end."

On the death of his nephew, on 6th April, 1812, Walter Ogilvy, now in his eightieth year, succeeded to the Airlie estates according to the terms of his brother's settlement as interpreted by the Court of Session, and became titular Earl of Airlie. In November following he presented a petition to His Majesty, George III., praying to have the family titles and honours restored in his person as heir-male of his father, John, fourth Earl of Airlie. This petition was referred to the House of Lords, which reported in 1815 on the merits of the case to the effect that the petition was barred by the crime of high treason. In 1816 he lodged a formal claim to the assumed titles before the House of Lords, where, in 1818, the case was duly discussed in all its bearings, but before the Lords had issued their decision, the titular Earl of Airlie died at Cortachy Castle on 10th April, 1819, at the age of eighty-six, having been predeceased by his wife on 11th June, 1818, aged fifty-six.

## DAVID, SEVENTH EARL OF AIRLIE

TRAVELLERS in the East have drawn our attention to the fact of the strange and surprising limit which Nature has placed on what we recognise as the Oriental temperament. Accustomed to regard the East as the land of imagination, of errant fancy, of brilliant romance, of poetic fervour, and of histrionic song, as exemplified in the wild romances of Arabia, the tender and bewitching songs of the Persian hills, and farther East still in the lofty and impassioned epics of India, one would naturally expect, on crossing the Himalava Mountains and threading the wild and romantic regions of Tibet. to meet a still wilder flight of the Asiatic Muse; but, instead, we drop at once from unbridled romance into the most colourless prose. It would seem as if the wings of that aerial fancy which dominates the Eastern mind had been suddenly clipped, and that all ecstasy had gone out of the hearts of the people. Another race comes to us which seems to have no affinity with Asia. and in far Cathay there are neither flights of fancy nor songs of love and chivalry; life is flat, thought is dull, speech is spiritless. In that Far Eastern land language is used only to clothe thought in the simplest garb, and the people have no desire for its ornamentation. In like manner, travelling through this history from early Celtic to what may now be called modern times. and from the Battle of the Standard to Culloden, we have experienced striking incidents and romantic happenings, bold adventure and exciting exploit, dramatic scenes and chivalrous enterprises, all encircled with the embroideries of romance and the poetry of action; but, like the analogue of Eastern lands, instead of meeting still further exhibitions of romantic incidents, the remaining portion of the story of the House

of Airlie is prosaic, bordering on the commonplace, and this not so much because the men as the times have changed. For one thing the elimination of the feudal power of the aristocracy in 1747, and the merging of all heritable jurisdictions under officers of the Crown, together with the abrogation of the right of the landlord to command the military service of his tenants, had so thoroughly and radically extracted the sting of the clan system as to make all such combinations, hitherto the seed-plots of racial strife, entirely innocuous. The establishment of a national military and free access to commissions in the British Army and Navy of the sons of the nobility and gentry of Scotland, whose propensities inclined them to the fighting forces, opened up for them a wider outlook, while it extinguished the provincial spirit. The great and rapid flow of material progress which signalised the closing years of the eighteenth century was a dominant factor in changing the attitude of the people. Work, distinguished by great variety in character that met the varied tastes of the populace, became more plentiful, wages were higher, and consequently the style of living was enhanced. Education, which had been firmly established shortly after the Restoration, was now a passion among all sections of the people, and as literature of every order and description poured forth in great volume, they read more, and "the spirit of reflection and reasoning was more awake" than had ever been the case. Among the upper classes a change, significant of the death of ancient prejudices, now began in the adoption of English manners, customs, modes of speech, and dress, while the fashionable world bent themselves to acquire the English accent in speech and the English idiom in expression. Cosmopolitanism was the rule, and this spirit, once assimilated, was bound to change the springs of character and alter the outlook of nationals. So great indeed was the change that overspread the country, that a lady of pronounced character was wont to exclaim: "Our nationality decays so fast that I feel a kind of pain at its departure."

This change was reflected in the changed attitude of the House of Airlie. Always fervently patriotic, of the Scots Scottish, they had yet the wisdom to recognise the trend of things and to move in sympathy with them. The Stewart line extinct, the family traditions of loyalty to the Crown made the transference of their allegiance to the Guelphs a simple matter, and once avowed, so tenacious have the Ogilvys ever been of their ideal, there could be no turning back, no hesitation or doubt. The "hump'd foreigner" of David of the '45, symbolical of his real attitude to the reigning House of Britain, was supplanted by his own nephew, who is now in front of us with an exhibition of the most ardent loyalty and attachment.

Born at Balnaboth, on 16th December, 1785, David Ogilvy was the second son of Walter, titular Earl of Airlie, and was educated at Dundee in the High School there under a tutor. At the age of seventeen he purchased a commission in the 42nd Highlanders, joining the regiment at Fort George in 1802. Two years later, as Lieutenant, he was removed with his company to Essex. and till 1809 was for the most part stationed in different quarters in England, in that year being promoted to the rank of Captain. On the death of his elder brother, John, he, on the earnest solicitation of his father, resigned the Army and returned to Cortachy, where his father had taken up his residence. It was desirable, considering his cousin, the titular Earl of Airlie's incapacity, that as heir-apparent he should acquaint himself with estate affairs and learn something of their administration. On his cousin's death in 1812, he became titular Lord Ogilvy, and a few months later, on 7th October of that year, he entered the bonds of matrimony. In a letter dated "Cortachy Castle, 18th November 1812," signed "Jean Airly," writing to her son Donald, in India, she informed him:

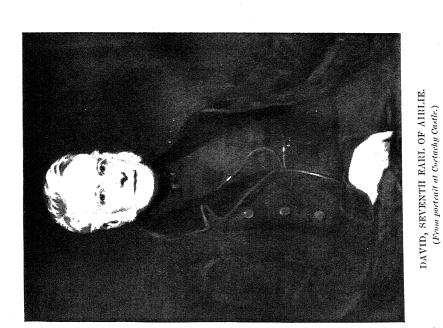
"Your brother, David, was married about two months ago, much to our satisfaction, to an agreeable young Lady, a Miss Drummond. It is expected he will get by her a considerable accession of fortune. Her father was of the Drummonds of

Kelty in Perthshire, and her mother, who is still alive, is one of the Duntrune family, their name is Graham and their family property lies near Arbroath. You may possibly have heard of them. David and his wife have been staying with us at Cortachy since their marriage; but now soon Airlie Castle is to be put in a condition to receive them and they are to go there and reside. David is to have the farm in his own hands and is to commence Country Gentleman."

Clementina Drummond, apart from the excellent qualities of womanhood which she discovered at a later period, is, on historical grounds, deserving of particular notice, since her mother was the last of the direct line of the Grahams of Claverhouse and Duntrune. A Graham of Fintry, the original stock from which the family of Claverhouse was descended, had formed an alliance with the Airlie family more than two and a half centuries before this time, in the person of David Graham, who married Margaret, second daughter of James, fourth Lord Ogilvy. John, the second son of Sir Robert Graham of Fintry, was the ancestor of the Grahams of Duntrune, whose grandson, Sir William Graham, was the father of the illustrious soldier John Graham of Claverhouse, first Viscount Dundee, to whom history has attached the unenviable appellation of "Bloody Clavers." The grandson of Lord Dundee died without issue in 1700, when the representation of the family devolved upon the next of kin, the family of David Graham of Duntrune, whose son, William, assumed the title. As a result of his participation in the cause of the Chevalier de St. George, in 1715, the honours were attainted by Act of Parliament; for, like the Ogilvys of Airlie, the Grahams of Duntrune were zealous supporters of the Stewarts. Although the father had thus suffered and still lay under disability through his action in '15, this did not deter his son. James, from joining Lord Ogilvy's regiment in the '45. At Culloden he effected his escape to France, where he entered the French service, having command of a company in "Le Régiment Ogilvy." He died at Dunkirk in 1759. Before embarking on the bold venture made



CLEMENTINA, COUNTESS OF AIRLIE. (Promportrait at Cortachy Castle.)



by Charles Edward, he took the precaution to convey the estates of Duntrane to his uncle, Alexander, by which they were preserved for the family. Alexander Graham, on the death of his nephew as stated, became senior representative of this branch of the Graham family. He married Clementina, daughter of David Gardyne of Lawton, by whom he had a son, Alexander, and two daughters, Amelia and Clementina. Alexander died without issue in 1802, and the two sisters became coheiresses of the estate; the elder marrying, 18th April, 1781, Patrick Stirling of Pittendreich; while the younger, Clementina, in 1794, was married to Captain Gavin Drummond of Kelty, whose only child was Clementina—the future Countess of Airlie. She was. especially after the death of her mother, a "weel tochered" bride, and was the means of setting the House of Airlie in something like affluent circumstances, bringing with her, as her mother-in-law wrote, "a considerable accession of fortune." A young lady in her seventeenth year at the time of her marriage, besides her share of Duntrune, the ancient barony of Kelty in the stewartry of Strathearn, with its castle, built in 1712, came to be included in the Airlie estates, at least for a time.

The young couple lived at Airlie Castle till the death of Walter Ogilvy, titular Earl of Airlie, in 1819, when, on succeeding to the estates, they removed to Cortachy Castle: and now the titular Earl of Airlie with a wellfilled purse made a determined effort to redeem the family honours. Although the case had to be begun de novo owing to the fact that through his father's death the former petition was abortive, he had vet the advantage and reaped the benefit of the argument on that occasion. The honours claimed were granted by Letters Patent in 1639 to James, Lord Ogilvy, "suisque hæredibus masculis, sibi in patrimonio et statu succedentibus"-to heirs-male succeeding to him in his patrimony and estate. The case was heard in the House of Lords in 1825, the claimant founding his right to the titles on the grounds of the decision in the Gordon of Park forfeiture,

in which the Court of Session, whose judgment was confirmed by the House of Lords, decided that, inasmuch as Sir William Gordon, who was attainted for his accession to the insurrection of 1745, had no power under the deed of entail to alter the course of succession to the prejudice of the other heirs of tailzie, or otherwise hurting or impairing their rights to the said entail after his death, the attainder forfeited to the Crown only during his life, and that after his decease John Gordon, direct heir-male, had right to the barony. It was maintained on the strength of this finding that "a Scotch honour. being a tailzied fee, must be governed by the same rules in matters of forfeiture as any other tailzied fee of lands, teinds, offices, or other subject capable of being feudalised." It was, moreover, advanced by counsel at the Bar that according to the terms of the Patent of 1639 "heirs-male-general" were in view, and that as the claimant was not descended from either of the attainted persons—James, Lord Ogilvy in 1715; or David, Lord Ogilvy in 1746—and inasmuch as their issue having failed, he had a right and title as heir-malegeneral to the honours and dignities. It may be noted that although Lord Ogilvy in 1715 was attainted by Act of Parliament during the lifetime of his father, whom he survived, on his own death in 1731 without issue, his immediate younger brother, John, who was never attainted, came to be heir in terms of the Patent and assumed the title of Earl of Airlie, while his elder son took that of Lord Ogilvy. But it may be remarked that the attainder of 1715 differed from that of 1746 in this particular—that, whereas James, Lord Ogilvy, was attainted in person, David, Lord Ogilvy, was attainted in title, being, according to the terms of the Act, debarred "from using the title of Lord Ogilvy." Both attainders were in course of time modified by a pardon and remission from the Crown, and in the case of David Ogilvy thereafter by an Act of Parliament, the 23rd of George III., c. 4, which removed "certain disabilities and incapacities," but without affecting the dignities. The House of Lords, after much discussion,

and after consulting the twelve Judges on the occasion, decided that the claimant could not take, but was barred by the attainders. In consequence of this judgment, George IV. caused an Act<sup>1</sup> to be passed reversing the attainders, which became law on 26th May, 1826, enacting—

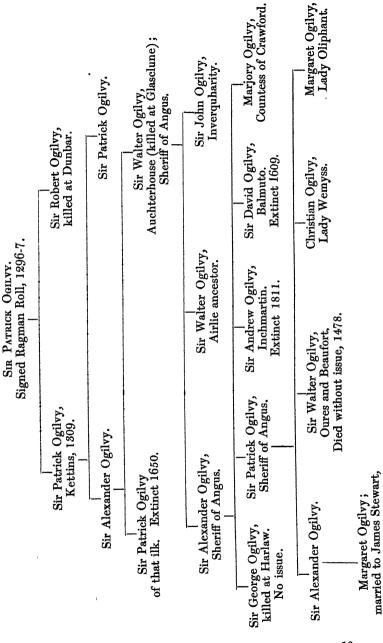
"That the said David Ogilvy, now of Airlie, and all other Persons who would be entitled after the said David Ogilvy to succeed to the Honours, Dignities, and titles of Earl of Airlie and Lord Ogilvy of Alyth and Lintrathen in case the said Acts had not been made shall be restored to all honours, and Dignities, and Titles, with all Rights, and Priviliges, and Preeminencies thereunto belonging as fully, amply, and honourably as if the said Act had never been made an Impediment."

The earldom had thus been dormant from the death of John, fourth Earl of Airlie, till the above date, when, according to the terms of the Act, David Ogilvy, who but for the attainders would have been the ninth Earl, became de jure the seventh Earl of Airlie.

Two matters affecting the honour and dignity of the House of Airlie now fall to be discussed, and in dealing with them the table following will serve to illustrate the points at issue. These are the relation of the Earl of Airlie to the earldom of Findlater, which became dormant in 1811, and his right to the chieftainship of the Clan Ogilvy-Ogilvy of that ilk. In respect to the latter, it may be remembered that the first Earl of Airlie in common with other peers protested to the Crown on the precedence granted by a second Patent to the Earl of Findlater, while Lord Airlie ventilated a special grievance on seeing a cadet of his own House taking rank before him, protesting that this was an injustice to himself and his family. A loyal and dutiful subject and an ardent supporter of the Sovereign, Charles I., "being ripely advised," though, as will be seen, not rightly informed, performed an act of justice by securing for him the precedence that was his right as it was his desert; but in doing so, His Majesty overstepped the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Appendix III.

limit of fact and created an injustice in another direction. When he declared of the Earl of Airlie that besides being "an ancient Nobleman, is also chief of the family and surname of the Ogilvys," he published a statement that was not consistent with the truth. At this particular time, 1643, Lord Airlie was only chief of the Airlie branch of "the family and surname of the Ogilvys." Even of the Ogilvys of Auchterhouse, the family of Inchmartin took precedence of the House of Airlie, as will be seen by consulting the table, since on the death of Sir Walter Ogilvy of Oures and Beaufort, in 1478, without issue, the representative of Sir Andrew Ogilvy of Inchmartin took the leading place. But what is far more to the purpose, the Ogilvys of that ilk. the original stock, or the Powrie Ogilvys, had still their representative in the person of Sir Thomas Ogilvv of Ogilvy, only son of Gilbert Ogilvy of Ogilvy, and grandson of the notorious John Ogilvy known to history as "Powrie Ogilvy," the Catholic emissary of James VI.. whom His Majesty employed in the work of soothing the conscience of his prospective Catholic subjects in England, the Court of Spain, and His Holiness the Pope. Sir Thomas Ogilvy of that ilk was, however, the last member of the ancient stock, the last of the family distinguished as that of Ogilvy of Ogilvy; he joined the Marquis of Montrose in that last and fatal venture, and was killed at the Battle of Corbiesdale in 1650. On his death "the chief of the family and surname of the Ogilvvs" fell by inheritance to the senior member of the Auchterhouse family-namely, Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Inchmartin, who became the Ogilvy of that ilk, and, as already stated, through marriage and Letters Patent succeeded to the title Earl of Findlater. House of Findlater and Inchmartin retained the honour of being the representative of Ogilvy of Ogilvy from 1650 till 1811, when on the death of the seventh Earl without heirs-male, the title became dormant, and left vacant the position of "the chief of the family and surname of the Ogilvys." This must be filled by the Auchterhouse family, and, ascending the



16

Earl of Buchan,

scale, the next in seniority is Sir Walter Ogilvy, the ancestor of the House of Airlie, whose representative is the Earl of Airlie—the Ogilvy of that ilk, the Chief of the Clan.

In respect to the dormant Findlater peerage, Lord Airlie, when he embarked on the recovery of the family honours, might with a fair promise of success have laid his claim to it. The facts seem to be conclusive enough. Sir Walter Ogilvy, the eldest son of the Airlie ancestor by his second marriage to Isabel Glen, married, in 1437, Margaret, heiress of Sir John Sinclair of Deskford. whose descendant, Sir Walter Ogilvy of Deskford, was created, on 4th October, 1616, Lord Ogilvy of Deskford by Patent to himself and the "heirs-male of his body." On 20th February, 1638, he was promoted to an earldom. Earl of Findlater "suisque hæredibus masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis, ipsi in patrimonio et statu de Findlater et Deskford succedentibus." He had no male issue; but Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Inchmartin, who married his eldest daughter and heiress. Lady Elizabeth Ogilvy, had the interest to procure a new Patent, dated 18th October, 1641, of the earldom of Findlater eventually to himself and "his heirs-male." He was first styled Lord Deskford, and on the death of his fatherin-law became Earl of Findlater. It will be observed that the terms of the second Patent differ from the Patent of 1638, which was to "his heirs-male of his body"; whereas the second was to heirs-male-general of Sir Patrick Ogilvy, whose succession as second Earl of Findlater failed in the person of James, seventh Earl of Findlater, without issue, and the title became dormant in 1811. The question arises, Who is the heirmale of Sir Patrick Ogilvy of Inchmartin? By referring to the table it will be seen that on the death of Sir Alexander Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, who had no male issue, the succession fell upon his younger brother, Sir Walter Ogilvy of Oures and Beaufort, who died without issue. Failing the heirs of these, the male Auchterhouse representative went collaterally to the stock of Inchmartin. As by the Patent of 1641 the heirs-male-general

of the Patentee are entitled to succeed, and as these are exhausted on the descending line, it becomes necessary to ascend to the first member of the Auchterhouse family, when it will be found that the right of succession to the earldom of Findlater is vested in the representative of Sir Walter Ogilvy, ancestor of the Ogilvys of Airlie, and his heir-male, the Earl of Airlie.

The reinstatement of the family in its honours and dignity after a period of dormancy extending to five and sixty years was hailed with great satisfaction and delight throughout the country generally; but more especially in the Midlands of Scotland, where the romantic elements of the Ogilvys were best known and appreciated, the reversal of the attainders was a source of unbounded joy to the inhabitants. On the House of Lords deciding against the claim, great regret was expressed by many in many parts, but now from all quarters and from all sections of the people congratulations poured in upon the Earl and Countess of Airlie on the resuscitation of the titles. No longer titulars, holding the honours by the delicate thread of courtesy, they had now the right of law, which, besides the feeling of selfrespect, gave them access to all the privileges of their rank and station, not the least of which was the coveted one of assembling with their peers at Court-forbidden ground to the attainted. As typical of the great volume of appreciation and expression of the general feeling of the country, and in particular of the gratification of the nobility and gentry, the following letter of William Maule, Lord Panmure, may be given. It is dated "Brechin Castle, June 30th, 1826," in which he wrote:

"On my arrival here I found it the universal opinion that some mark of public respect should be offer'd to you on the restoration of your Titles, when you return to this your native county: and it is proposed through me to ask you to accept of a Dinner in the County Hall at Forfar, the day to be fixed by you. I am sure I need not say that I feel it a very pleasing task to make this request and I sincerely hope you will not decline it. Any day between the 20th of July and the 1st of August would be a very favourable time, or between the

1st September and the 20th of that month—however, whatever suits you best will be most agreeable to the County Gentlemen, and I beg to be favour'd with your sentiments on the subject at your convenience."

This was only one of the manifold tokens of respect shown to Lord Airlie on his reinstatement in the family honours. Mention of others will follow in their order of time. But, meanwhile, it may be said that he was fully alive to that beneficent principle, "it is more blessed to give than to receive," and while he accepted the honour of "the County Gentlemen" with great satisfaction, he was equally disposed to celebrate the occasion in a tangible manner. Stimulated by the wealth and abounding charity of his estimable Countess, and chiefly at her instigation, the Earl of Airlie, in recognition of the restored titles, performed a work which, because it was greatly necessary, was on that account all the more esteemed by the people of the district. The parishes of Cortachy and Clova, united in 1618 under a single incumbency on condition that the minister should conduct services alternately in both churches, receiving as emoluments the combined teinds, had suffered considerably by reason of the great extent of country included in the pastorate and the ten miles that separated the churches. The Countess of Airlie, who was known in her day and for long after as "the Good Countess," came of a House, according to the "Old Statistical Account" of the parish of Dunning, "deservedly farfamed for the genuine hospitality of an open and generous-hearted family," and being of a serious turn of mind and deeply religious, in sympathy with the evangelical party in the Church of Scotland, of which Dr. Chalmers was the distinguished ornament, was moved to celebrate the reversal of the attainder (and another important event which synchronised with it) by ameliorating the spiritual condition of the territory over which her husband ruled. Chiefly on her initiative and altogether at her expense, a more adequate provision was made for religious ordinances and the spiritual oversight of the district than hitherto had been possible.

The appointment of a missionary in 1828 to minister to the people in the Glens of Clova and Prosen has already been mentioned. In the same year the Earl of Airlie erected the present Parish Church of Cortachy in grateful acknowledgment of the restored honours. The old edifice, dating back to pre-Reformation days, was built about the middle of the fifteenth century; in the choir was the burial-place of the Ogilvys of Clova and, after 1625, of the Airlie family. It was a small but ornate structure, then altogether inadequate to meet the wants of the increased population of the parish. This Lord Airlie replaced by the present church on approximately the old site, as may be gathered from a slab on the east gable which bears the following inscription:

"This edifice was erected, Anno Domine 1828, by David, Seventh Earl of Airlie, on the site of the old Church."

The ground covered by the ancient choir was, however, preserved and its sleeping tenants undisturbed. There, in soil consecrated by the old Catholic ritual, repose the dust of the Ogilvys of Airlie down to and including this generation of the House. Since then there has been erected a new burial-place, which for elegance of architecture and chaste design makes the house of the dead with its gorgeous monuments vie with the Castle of the living.

The ancient office of Sheriff of Angus was held by the Ogilvys from 1379 till it was resigned by Margaret Ogilvy, Countess of Buchan, in 1464. The old title of Sheriff was superseded towards the close of the eighteenth century by that of "Lord-Lieutenant"; but apart from the change of nomenclature and the fact that it was no longer heritable, the nature of the position continued the same—namely, that of being the representative of the Sovereign in the county—an honourable and coveted position. The first to hold the office under the new title was Archibald, Lord Douglas, who was appointed in 1794. He had grown old and feeble, and, to judge from a letter of Lord Panmure to the Earl of Airlie, the position had suffered by neglect:

"I understand it is the intention of the Depute Lieutenants to request of Lord Douglas to appoint you Vice-Lieutenant of the County—let me entreat you, My Dear Lord, not to refuse it. The County stands much in need of an efficient Lieutenancy and I will venture to say there is not a Gentleman in it who will not be happy to act under you; and besides, it will be a stepping-stone to the Lieutenancy itself when a vacancy occurs which cannot be far off."

On the death of Lord Douglas in 1827, Lord Airlie was appointed by George IV. Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Forfar. What changes the ever-whirling wheel of time brings about! Fifty years before such an appointment would have been deemed not only highly improbable, but the mere suggestion of it would have been discredited as beyond the bounds of possibility. Outlawed and in exile on the charge of high treason against the Crown, the Earl of Airlie's uncle scorned allegiance to "the hump'd foreigner," and now the said uncle's nephew is raised to the honourable office of the King's Lord-Lieutenant by virtue of his known loyalty to the House of Hanover. This signal token of the royal favour, expressive of the confidence and regard of the Crown for an ancient House whose members were ever loyal to the Sovereign, their loyalty being the ground of their treason, was the precursor of an exhibition of esteem on the part of the Scottish nobility which the Earl of Airlie highly appreciated, and which gave rise to demonstrations of rejoicing by the people on the Airlie estates. During the long years of the attainder, though debarred from appearing at Court or exercising the functions of authority in the communal life of the nation, the titular Earls of Airlie had ample testimony given to them by the people generally, and in particular by their contemporaries in the Peerage, of the high respect in which they and the traditions of their House were held; and that this was sincere as it was merited was speedily shown when opportunity afforded. At the first election of peers to represent the Peerage of Scotland in the House of Lords after the restoration of the family honours, in January, 1833, the Earl of Airlie was

elected one of the representatives. This was a source of great satisfaction to him and his "Good Countess," and gave occasion for those liberal benefactions for which Cortachy Castle was then noted. Donations to the poor of Airlie; Alyth, Auchterhouse, Cortachy, Forfar, Glenisla, Kirriemuir, and Lintrathen were distributed; and as an example of the spirit in which they were received, the following letter from the parish minister of Forfar may be given:

"I have received your Lordship's letter of the 19th inst. and I beg to express to you and Lady Airlie my warmest thanks for your liberal donation of twenty pounds for the benefit of the poor of the Town of Forfar. The poor of my Parish have repeatedly experienced the kindness of your Lordship and that of Lady Airlie, and it is my prayer as I trust it will also be the prayer of those who partake of your bounty that the Divine blessing may ever descend on you and on your noble family. I will most gladly avail myself of the assistance of my friend and colleague Mr. Skinner, in distributing your Charity.

I have the honour to be Your Lordship's

Most obedient humble servant

WILLIAM CLUGSTON.

Manse of Forfar, 20th January, 1833."

The election was hailed with delight by the people of the district. John McNicoll, factor on the Airlie estates, wrote: "As Lord Ormelie says, 'The cause is at last triumphant.' I am beyond measure delighted at your Lordship's success, and (though in a less degree) at the signal success of the party." The parish minister of Kirriemuir, Thomas Easton, D.D., wrote on 18th January, 1833:

"I beg leave, most respectfully, to congratulate your Lordship on your election as one of the representatives of the Peerage of Scotland in the House of Lords, an event which has given us all the greatest pleasure. It was exceedingly kind in your Lordship to remember the poor of this town on this most interesting occasion. The House of Airlie have no where more sincere well-wishers than in Kirriemuir and it gives me great pleasure that they are increasing in number. Your

Lordship's election is to be celebrated here on Tuesday by the gentlemen of Kirriemuir—James Forest, Esq., Banker, in the Chair, and Dr. Malloch, Croupier."

Nothing has been recorded of the nature and extent of the conviviality on this occasion in what is known through Sir James Barrie as "Thrums"; but if it were anything like the festive gathering at Auchterhouse in celebration of the same event, "the gentlemen of Kirriemuir" had a merry meeting. The Earl of Airlie, by virtue of his fine qualities, was immensely popular. Like his uncle, "Le Bel Écossais," he was blessed with a free and affable manner, simple and unaffected. Carrying himself with that dignity which became his long pedigree—and there is no denying that centuries of cultured refinement and high breeding, combined with education and military training, leave their mark on an individual, as is frankly acknowledged by the teaching of heredity—he had yet that amiable disposition which accompanies a broad and charitable mind. A considerate landlord, he enjoyed the confidence of his tenantry, and had earned their respect and goodwill. He was more than generous in his benefactions—his charities were bountiful and indiscriminate. The esteem in which he was held found full scope for its demonstration among the tenantry of Auchterhouse who assembled at "a dinner, tea-drinking, and a Ball" on 6th February, 1833-

"in testimony of the respect and attachment of the tenantry of the Earl of Airlie, their goodwill towards his ancient House, and their strong feeling of satisfaction at his being chosen a representative of the Nobles of Scotland in the British Parliament."

It was a memorable assembly, expressive of the most ardent loyalty and goodwill, an account of which, at the request of the tenants, was sent to the Earl of Airlie by his brother-in-law, Mr. John Wedderburn. The dinner took place in "the Parochial School House," which "was well lighted and ornamented with a transparency painted by Ferrier in Dundee, representing the Earl's

title and Coronet, surmounted with the words—Noble, Just and Generous." About three o'clock in the afternoon about sixty sat down to dinner—

"being called together by a band of music playing 'The Kailbrose of auld Scotland.' The dinner was plentiful, the more solid part being subscribed for, the pastry sent by your sister: ale and whisky was drunk during dinner; port wine and toddy ad libitum afterwards.

The meeting broke up a little after six and came down here where the wives and families had assembled in the Drawing-Room, which your sister had prepared and lighted for them: the furniture had been removed and the room was laid out with tea-tables; the pictures were all left on the walls and Lady Airlie's and your own were dressed with holly—an orchestra was fixed at the top of the room and the dancing which began a little after 7 was not over till 7 in the morning. I held out till 4—your sister and boys were in the room and altogether we mustered 140. They had all sorts of food and I brewed a Loch of rum punch to which ample justice was done. The Factor who joined us in the evening with Mr. Patterson, the Architect, gave sundry toasts and speeches, and finally danced us all off our feet. Every person was pleased."

Giving an account of the entertainment, Lady Helen Wedderburn wrote:

## "My Dearest Clementina

I had great pleasure in arranging for the Grand Ball here, and in decking your sweet picture and my brother's with holly; and they looked beautiful. I do think the hearty and kindly feelings expressed towards my brother and yourself were truly sincere and from the people's very heart. When the Factor proposed my brother's health to all the party in the house the whole old walls rang again. For my part I could scarcely refrain from greeting with joy."

It may be advisable at this stage to make the acquaintance of a new generation of the House of Airlie—as far, at least, as its several members fall to be noticed under their father's history. It may be said, however, that there was nothing romantic or exhilarating about any of them; and this not because the family temperament but the times had changed in character and outlook. Taking them in the order of their birth, the first to grace the union was:

1. Jean Graham Drummond, who was born at 7. Forth Street, Edinburgh, on 1st March, 1818, and baptised at Airlie Castle. The grandmother, who had been in poor health for a considerable time, sending her congratulations from Cortachy Castle, wrote: "Since I had David's letter telling me of your doing so well and that the dear little lamb is thriving, his father declares that it has done me more good than all the Doctor's pills and powders I take. Many thanks for your kind intention of giving me the name; I do take it as a very great compliment and will always esteem it as such. You should hear Lord Airlie! he wishes much to see the Boy-but says all in good time. I think you judge well in having the child christened at Airlie Castle. As she is a stout lass there will be no fear of the journey." She was not only a strong but a precocious child, exhibiting at an early stage the critical faculty. At the age of eight, in a letter dated "Cortachy Castle, the 16th August 1826," to her mother, who was at the time residing at Airlie Castle, she wrote: "I received the books and the next day your kind note. I was very much amused with Still in your letter, but I shall take care to leave it out of mine. You never told me how Papa is, and if he is not yet returned from the hills. I wish you and Papa would return to Cortachy. Mamma, I want to ask you a question. My Pony is broke in and I would like to take a ride and Davy the boy to lead me; but Miss Fraser said she would not let me except with your leave. It is a very pretty little creature; it has a long tail and a very long mane. Tiny and I do every day some needlework, and after our lessons are finished we get a play-hour."

Lady Jean spent the most part of the first seven years of her life in France and Switzerland, and returned to Paris at the age of fourteen, where she completed her education. A bright and lively person, of fine presence, she was married on 5th June, 1837, to her cousin, John, ninth Viscount Arbuthnett.

- 2. Clementina Drummond, who was born at 58, Rue de Vaugirard, Fauxbourg, St. Germains, on 24th March, 1820, and, educated with her elder sister, was married, 17th July, 1838, to Lieutenant-Colonel James Rait of Anniston, the representative of the family of Rait of Hallgreen, an ancient race of Teutonic origin, deriving their name from the country of Rhætia in Austria, whose first possessions were in the county of Nairn, which they held from Malcolm "the Maiden," and, calling their lands after their own name, built Rait Castle. One of this family, Thomas Rait, is said to have slain the Thane of Cawdor and fled to the Mearns for protection, where, in the reign of Robert III., he married the heiress of Hallgreen, and for a time held the lands of Dunnottar, which he resigned in 1394 in favour of Sir William Keith. The ancestor of the Anniston family was a merchant in Dundee, where he amassed a large fortune, and where, in 1650, he was a magistrate of the city. About this time he purchased the property. Lieutenant-Colonel James Rait succeeded to his father, who died during the year 1837. Like her mother, Lady Clementina Ogilvy, who was married in her nineteenth year, was a person of high repute in the parish of Inverkeillor, where she was endeared by her amiable disposition and her many kind deeds. She met an untimely end, the result of an accident. On their way to Cortachy Castle for the cover-shooting, she and her husband drove from Anniston, when at a sharp turning not far from their destination the horses took fright and bolted, and the carriage being upset Lady Clementina was fatally injured, dying at Cortachy two days later, on 16th October, 1848.
- 3. Walter, titular Lord Ogilvy, was born in Paris in March, 1824, and died there in September following, aged six months. He was buried in Canongate Churchyard, Edinburgh.
- 4. David Graham Drummond, Lord Ogilvy, who will be discussed later.
- 5. Marie Anne, who was born at Cortachy on 23rd July, 1827, and who died unmarried.

6. Helen Susanna Catherine Gertrude, born at Cortachy on 7th November, 1831, was married on 31st May, 1859, to George Augustine Stavely, Bengal Civil Service. She died without issue in India on 26th April, 1862.

During the long years of his exile in France, Lord Ogilvy, as we have seen, contracted many friendships in that country, and especially among the members of the French Royal Family he formed intimate associations, chief among them in the later years of his residence there being the Comte d'Artois, afterwards Charles X. At the Revolution of 1793, on the execution of Louis XVI., when royalty fled the scene of bloodshed and the Comte with several of his kinsmen found refuge and hospitality in this country, he revived his friendship with "Le Bel Écossais," and, being a keen sportsman, paid a visit to Cortachy Castle, where for a few days he indulged his sporting proclivities in the Glens of Clova and Prosen and the larger game of the Tulchan. After his return to France, King Charles cherished lively recollections of his father's friend and his own. and when, in 1820, the Earl of Airlie, on account of the precarious health of the Countess, settled in that country, where he remained for the space of five years, His Majesty extended the royal favour to him in a marked degree, on the 10th July of that year receiving him at Court. This was the first of many friendly meetings with Charles X. during Lord Airlie's residence in the suburbs of Paris; and that the friendship was both strong and sincere may be gathered from the fact that ten years later, when the Revolution of 1830 drove the French King and his family from France, again to seek better refuge in England, his lordship, who was then in London, responding to the ancient affection of the House of Airlie for the French and before the British Government had offered the exiled monarch Holyrood Palace as a home, put at Charles's disposal the free occupation of Cortachy Castle—a spontaneous tribute of dutiful devotion which His Majesty highly appreciated. Again, in 1832, when Louis Philippe, his successor on the French throne, made representation to the British Government that the capital of Scotland through its constant intercourse with the shores of France was much too dangerous a harbourage for the exiled King, Lord Airlie, who during the two years of His Majesty's residence in the home of the Stewarts had been in close touch with him, renewed his offer of the hospitality of Cortachy; but Charles was shrewd enough to recognise that such a change of residence would not alter the complaint, and he was constrained to accept a refuge in friendly Austria, sailing from Newhaven on 18th September, 1832, to the great regret of the citizens of Edinburgh, who had come to like the simple, kindly ways of the exile, whose liberal benefactions to all local charities had called forth their esteem and gratitude.

Clementina, Countess of Airlie, from the dawn of womanhood had been the victim of periodical ill-health which enfeebled her constitution, giving rise to a nervously sensitive temperament; but while this frequently arrested her activities both domestic and social, it did not adversely affect that charitable disposition and felicity of heart with which she was so richly endowed. For a number of years she was more or less an invalid. often for long periods bedridden and seldom free from anæmic debility; but throughout her infirmity she never parted with her serene and quiet temper and cheerful spirit. Compelled to seek a milder climate, she resided for five years in France, where several of her children were born, changing to Geneva at intervals, and returned to Cortachy early in 1826. After the birth of Lord Ogilvy, Lady Airlie experienced for the first time during her married life robust health, recovered her activities, and was able to indulge her partiality for riding, an exercise which was the pleasure of her youthful days. A model of patient endurance, she was highly sympathetic with others, and, inspired by a bountiful heart, it was the passion of her life to relieve the weak and infirm. A friend to the poor and him that had no one to help him, she was ever ready to assist the needy, while the cause which she knew not she searched out.

Far and wide, she was known as "the Good Countess." Esteemed for her amiable and gentle qualities, she was honoured and beloved for her never-failing charity. If she was ever ready to help the poor, she was just as ready to encourage ambition. Joseph Gordon, a young footman at Cortachy Castle, a native of Kirriemuir, who had discovered the gift of poetry, found in her a sympathetic patron whose interest and encouragement gave at once wings to his flights of fancy and the ambition to follow literature as a career. In asking her acceptance of a volume of poems which he published in 1825, he naïvely wrote:

"As they were mostly composed when in your Ladyship's service, you might justly claim them as a right, being the work of that time which might perhaps have been directed to more useful purposes. As it is, My Lady, I know of none to whom I would more readily, or with so much pleasure, present them as to your Ladyship. May I hope that your Ladyship will accept them as a small mark of my sincere gratitude for the many happy days I have passed under your Ladyship's roof."

Bearing with remarkable patience and, withal, good cheer for the most part of thirty years her infirmity, at a critical period of her life the Countess of Airlie succumbed to an aggravated form of her distemper. The Earl of Airlie had made a new departure in the family history by purchasing a London house, and as if to add irony to the situation, selected one immediately adjacent to the residence of the Duke of Argyll. The choice most naturally gave occasion at the time for many goodhumoured remarks in society and in the Press on the changed condition of things which enabled the representatives of two such ancient enemies, formidable antagonists of bygone days, to come together in amity and mutual friendship. The picture of Argyll Lodge and Airlie Lodge in juxtaposition, with the Campbells and the Ogilvys at length in quiet neighbourhood and mingling freely like the smoke from their chimneys, was likened to the fulfilment of the prophet's vision of the peaceable kingdom of the millennial reign, when "the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall

lie down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together." The peaceful proximity of the two chiefs of the two great clans, the rancour of whose feuds was exceedingly bitter and prolonged, was taken as symbolical of the great change that had been effected in the sentiment of the nation. Early in January, 1835, the Earl and Countess of Airlie took up their residence in London for the season, and graced the new departure by entertaining their friends on a sumptuous scale. Airlie Lodge soon became the rendezvous of the Scots nobility, many of whom had by this time contracted the habit of migrating to the capital of the Empire, where they experienced a more ready intercourse with their friends than was possible in the widely scattered home-country. The Countess of Airlie, whose friendships were widespread and deeply attached, did not long enjoy this new venue of her popularity. By the late spring she was laid prostrate with illness, all the more disappointing since, experiencing a few years of comparatively good health, she was buoved up with the hope that she had recovered stability of strength. Only in her forty-first year, of sanguine temperament. of cheerful spirit, of buoyant mind; with the relish of life and the desire to live; with the ideal of being useful and the disposition to use her time, her energies, her opportunities, and her wealth in making people happy and contented; in the full enjoyment of all that makes life worth living—a devoted husband and a young family at the stage when they stand most in need of a mother's supervision, and counsel, and example—after a long and painful illness, as Lord Airlie has recorded, "under many and long protracted sufferings—and after giving an edifying example of Devout resignation to the Divine will, she departed this life in the faith of a crucified and risen Redeemer, universally beloved, honoured, and lamented." She was buried at Cortachy in the old family burial-ground, where a tablet records that she died in London on 1st September, 1835, and that her "mortal remains are here interred."

The barony of Kelty, which on the death of Mrs.

Drummond in 1824 was included in the Airlie estates, was, within two years of the Countess of Airlie's death and at her own request, sold to Lord Rollo of Duncrub, the object being to make ample provision for the daughters of the marriage. As within three years two of them were married—Lady Jean to Viscount Arbuthnott and Lady Clementina to Lieutenant-Colonel James Rait—the estate, acquired by John Drummond in 1692 (a scion of the Culdees House and minister of Monzie from 1666 to the Revolution Settlement, when he was deprived by the Privy Council because he refused to pray for William and Mary), was realised and apportioned according to Lady Airlie's settlement.

The association of ideas, like occasional causes, is a recognised principle of metaphysics descriptive of a mental process whereby one thought suggests another, drawn, it may be, from the archives of memory, but associated with it in character. A scene floats down upon the mind with which either we are familiar or it corresponds to a like perspective that has crossed our vision, and this not only awakens ideas in the mind but recalls others which are latent in the memory. In this way one idea suggests another into consciousness, which frequently occurs in the train of thought. The associations of life are fruitful of suggestion, like the association of ideas, and one friendship leads to another. was so in this case. An intimate acquaintance subsisted between the Drummonds of Kelty and the family of Bruce of Cowden, a property lying on the south border of the county of Perth, near Dollar. Though separated by the Ochil Hills, they saw much of each other while both families had their winter quarters in Edinburgh. Captain William Bruce of Cowden, a cadet of Bruce of Airth, was, through his mother, Janet Bruce, sister of Henry Bruce, the last of the ancient House of Clackmannan, chief of the name, who died in 1782, without issue, the representative of that family and consequently lineal head of that illustrious House. Of the relict of Henry Bruce, who was herself a Bruce of Newton. it is recorded that with characteristic dignity she was wont to make the proud boast that her family did not spring from King Robert the Bruce, but that the King had sprung from her family; and that when she entertained Burns in her Castle of Clackmannan, conferring on him the honour of knighthood with the two-handed sword of King Robert I., she remarked that she had a better right to confer that title than some people-alluding, of course, to the House of Hanover. Her nephew, Captain William Bruce of Cowden, a contemporary of the Earl of Airlie, with whom he was on close and intimate friendship, had an only child and heiress, Margaret, who in addition to her territorial prospects and long pedigree was a remarkably handsome young lady, the senior by only a few years of Lady Jean Ogilvy. Having gone to Paris to give the finishing touch to her education, Margaret Bruce saw a good deal of the Airlie family during the last year of their residence in France, and frequently thereafter visited Cortachy Castle. On the marriage of Lady Clementina Ogilvy on 17th July, 1838. Lord Airlie determined to re-enter the honourable estate of holy matrimony, and placed his affections on Margaret Bruce. This was a choice that would have gratified the heart of the Duke of Illyria, who thus expressed himself:

> "Let still the woman take An elder than herself; so wears she to him, So sways she level in her husband's heart."

The marriage, which took place at 6, Heriot Row, Edinburgh, on 15th November, 1838, was the prelude to a short though happy domestic life. With an only surviving son by his first marriage, from his birth a delicate child, this union between Lord Airlie and Margaret, Countess of Airlie, strengthened the House, at least for the time being, by a family of four sons, who, however, have all passed away without issue:

William Henry Bruce Ogilvy was born at Cortachy Castle on 26th February, 1840. On his mother's death, according to the terms of the marriage contract, he succeeded to the estate of Cowden. Then, at the age vol. n

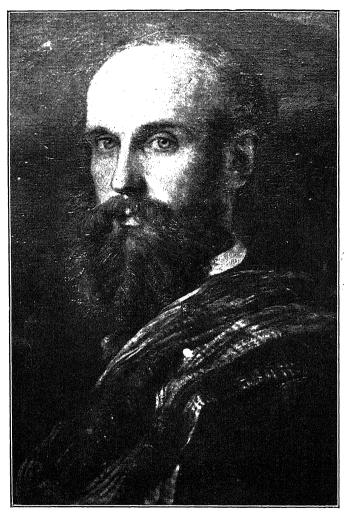
of five years, he was placed under trustees, and four years later, when left an orphan, was taken in charge by a relative of his mother, with whom he resided. At an early age he chose the Army as a profession and received a commission in the 26th Foot. Later he joined the Black Watch and held the rank of Captain. On 4th April, 1866, he married Sarah, eldest daughter of Henry Boyden, of the 76th Regiment, who died on 19th December, 1887, without issue. On the subsequent death of Captain Bruce-Ogilvy, who survived his brothers, the property of Cowden reverted to the next of kin.

James Bruce Ogilvy was born at Cortachy on 1st December, 1841, and was Lieutenant, 5th Brigade Royal Artillery. On the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 he joined the French Army, serving in the Artillery; his conduct in the field being marked by his conspicuous ability. After the death of his sister-in-law he resided with his elder brother at Cowden, where he died, unmarried, on 15th May, 1888.

John Bruce Ogilvy and his twin-brother Donald Bruce Ogilvy were born at Brighton on 17th June, 1845. Both died without issue.

The Countess of Airlie, who for some time had been in indifferent health and had gone to Brighton to recuperate, died on the day the twins were born. This was a great shock to Lord Airlie, from which he never recovered. After bringing the body of his wife to Cortachy, where it was interred, he seldom left the neighbourhood except for the business appertaining to the duties of the Lord-Lieutenancy, in virtue of which he had in the previous autumn been present with his suite to receive Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort on their landing at the port of Dundee from the royal yacht Victoria and Albert, on the occasion of Her Majesty's visit to Blair-Atholl.

Lord Airlie died at Cortachy Castle on 20th August, 1849, at the age of sixty-four, and was the last of his race to be buried in the choir of the ancient Church of Cortachy.



DAVID GRAHAM, EIGHTH EARL OF AIRLIE.
(From portrait at Cortachy Castle.)

## DAVID GRAHAM, EIGHTH EARL OF AIRLIE

OUR history has now reached the stage when it comes into touch with living memory, where the individuals were and are known to this generation, and for this reason there is not the same historical interest attaching to it, since it may be said that history now merges into biography. For although

"There is a history in all men's lives, Figuring the nature of the time deceas'd,"

the period at which we have now arrived still palpitates with life, and thus in a sense lacks that enchantment which distance lends to a full perspective of events. Our narrative, however, carries us back to within a few years of a century; to the close of the period which has been described as "the age of secular interests"; to the end of the long Ministry of Lord Liverpool and the advent of the Duke of Wellington in the field of politics; to the growing ascendency of the Whigs, and the formation of the "Conservative" and "Liberal" parties, representing, as Lord Jeffrey said, "property and no property;—swing and the law."

The year 1826 was a memorable one in the history of the House of Airlie; it saw the attainders reversed, the family reinstated in their honours and dignity, and the birth of an heir to the titles. On the 4th May of that year there was great cause for rejoicing at Cortachy Castle. On that day the Bill was introduced in Parliament to accomplish the aforesaid purpose. Naturally jubilant at the assured prospect of at last coming into their own again, especially after the long and tedious pleadings in the House of Lords and the consequent disappointment over their adverse judgment, the exuberance of delight as the day advanced was greatly

augmented when it became known that the Countess of Airlie had given birth to a son and heir. The news was all the more welcome since it came as a surprise. the event not being expected till a month later. A nervous person, warm-hearted, as we have seen, and easily excited, on receipt of the good tidings which Lord Airlie had despatched from London, and participating in the general rejoicing at Cortachy, Lady Airlie was so overcome by her own feeling of delight and the great wave of enthusiasm on the part of the people, that her excitement brought on a premature confinement. Amid the mirth and gladness occasioned by the prospect of the restored honours, and as if ready to make good his claim to them, David Graham Drummond made a hasty entrance on the stage of being, in readiness three weeks later to receive in undisputed tenure the title of Lord Ogilvy. He was a delicate child, as will be understood. Fragile and anæmic, he held life by a slender thread: but fortunately for him his mother's health had improved so much that she was able to devote to him her whole attention and constant care, nursing him gradually into a measure of strength. As a boy he was shy and reserved with strangers, modest to a degree, and unusually retiring; and those who remember him in later years say that this trait of his youth was characteristic of him in manhood, as he was frequently known to go out of his way to avoid people who were strange to him. When he was sufficiently strong, Lord Ogilvy was placed under a capable governess, a Miss Fraser, who found him an apt pupil, quick to learn and diligent, with plenty of healthy mischief and a modicum of humour. At the age of nine, when his parents removed to London, while his elder sisters went to France to complete their education, he was put under a tutor, and at length, against all precedent and tradition, new ground was broken by sending him to Eton, the first of his race to attend an English school. He did well there, being studious and diligent, and took a good place. Thereafter he proceeded to Oxford and studied at Christ Church, where, at least in the early part

of his curriculum, he gave promise of scholarly attainment; but later, as if to confirm the views of his granduncle, Lord Ogilvy of the '45, on English Universities—that he had never seen "any come out of them that were models except for being Jokeys, Gamesters, and Debochees"-making the acquaintance of a sporting fraternity, he devoted himself to the pleasure of the Turf, and so failed to graduate at Oxford, which, had he persevered in his studies, he had the ability to compass. It may be said, however, in extenuation of his default, that the Ogilvvs have never been distinguished for their attachment to high intellectual pursuits; the proclivity of their mind was not attracted to the sublime paths of literature, neither was it disposed to invade the mystic labyrinths of transcendental thought. Soldiers most of them, with but few exceptions, of whom the member in front of us was one, they were men of action who, like their illustrious relative the Marquis of Montrose, acquired only the mathematics that sufficed for a military career, being more at home with the sword than with the goose-quill. Lord Ogilvy, as he then was, having no predilection for the Army, from his tastes and habits preferred to follow a public career, by the early impressions of the Eton days in favour of the Diplomatic Service. To this end he went to Oxford. The love of sport, however, supervening, dissipated the object of his ambition, and for the time being, till a few years later, when he came under another and a more potent intellectual influence which recalled his thoughts to better things, and proved to be the inspiration of his life, he pursued "the devices and the desires of his heart."

At the age of twenty-three he succeeded to the title and the estates on the death of his father. This sense of responsibility brought with it a lively perception of duty, and he immediately set about the management of his widely scattered property; picking up the threads of the business with alacrity and developing an interest of which hitherto he had given little promise. While at school and at the University he had docilely followed a

course which had been prescribed for him, but for which he had neither taste nor sympathy; he now, left to himself, discovered his bent. This was according to his grandmother's description of his father—"to commence Country Gentleman." Although other duties called him farther afield—as, for instance, when he was elected, in 1850, the year after his succession, a Representative Peer of Scotland—the Earl of Airlie was always more in his element at Cortachy, among his own people, and engaged in the business of his estates, especially in agriculture and stock-rearing, of which some interesting facts fall to be recorded.

The House of Airlie had travelled far from that erstwhile feeling expressed by the Master of Ogilvy in 1545 against "the Inglismen auld Innimeis of Scotland." Ever partial in their friendship with France as opposed to England, and enamoured by all things French as against the English people, their manners, customs, traditions, and political adventures, while the Lord Ogilvy of that date hailed with delight the Union of the Crowns as a triumph of the Scots over their southern adversary, the House was bitterly opposed to the Union of the countries, seeing in it the loss of their independence and the subordination of their cherished traditions and national characteristics. This feeling of animosity to English institutions survived till well on in the eighteenth century, as may be seen from the fact that when it was suggested to Lord Ogilvy of '45 that his son might be sent to an English school, he resented the proposal, saving:

"I own I have a good deal of difficulty in dyeing Kinwhirry's coat blue—I own I am somewhat squeamish about it."

Of the Scots Scottish, all their family connections were strictly native and frequently racial. Up to this time the thought of crossing the blood of the Ogilvys by an English admixture would have been deemed incredible and against the natural order of things. But the House had travelled far on the road of conciliation. The Earl of Airlie had made a new departure in the traditions of

the family by attending an English school without being the least "squeamish about it." He now took a further step in the more catholic outlook which the free intercourse of the nations had opened up—the first member of his House to marry outside his native country and bring English blood into the Ogilvy race, thereby setting an example which his descendants have been prone to follow. On 23rd September, 1851, he married Henrietta Blanche, second daughter of Edward John, second Lord Stanley of Alderley, a cadet of the ancient House of Derby—a family so proud that it used to be said of them, "The Stanleys do not marry; they create alliances"; whose lineage goes back to William the Conqueror, in whose train Adam De Aldithley, a Norman Baron, and his two sons came to England in 1066. The youngest of these sons had a son named after the "Conqueror"-William, who married the only daughter and heiress of Thomas Stanley of Stafford, and who in honour of his bride and out of respect for the great antiquity of her family assumed the surname of Stanley, thus conveniently sinking his Norman origin in favour of an ancient Saxon cognomen. The ancestor of the Alderley branch of the family was Sir John Stanley, third son of Thomas, first Lord Stanley, Comptroller of the Household and Chamberlain to Henry VI., who through his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Weever of Weever, in Chester, inherited the property. His grandson, Sir Thomas Stanley, was created a Baronet at the Restoration, and on 9th May, 1839. Sir John Thomas Stanley was raised to the Peerage with the title of Lord Stanley of Alderley. The designation is interesting, as in the Saxon Alderley may be traced the Aldithley in Normandy, whence the male line of the Stanley race had come, and which it was intended to represent. On her mother's side, too, Lady Airlie was descended from an ancient stock; Lady Stanley being the eldest daughter of Henry Augustus, thirteenth Viscount Dillon, whose lineage may be traced back to the reign of King John, when Sir Henry Dylon obtained extensive territories in the counties of Longford and Westmeath,

which were denominated "Dillon's County"; and whose representative in the reign of Queen Elizabeth was made a Knight Banneret by the Earl of Essex on the field of battle for conspicuous bravery, and created Viscount by James I. on 16th March, 1621. Apart from her long pedigree, Blanche, Countess of Airlie, had personal qualities of a high order, intellectual, moral, artistic, and humane, which mark her off as a distinguished member of the House with which she became identified. These excellencies of mind and heart which adorned a fine type of patrician womanhood will in a measure be evolved as the narrative proceeds, but a picture of her as she mellowed with years and took on the rich tints of colour through the sun and shade of fortune, of which she had an intermingled experience, will be given in due course.

In the meantime, while pursuing the track of the Earl of Airlie's career, which it may be admitted had nothing of the glamour of those romantic elements to which we have been so long accustomed, let it be understood that in all his employments, enterprises, improvements, adventures, even to the change of his political creed. Lady Airlie was the prime mover, inspiration, and stimulus. Though the Airlies all through their history had been high Tories, as blue as they could be painted. the late Earl being as pronouncedly Conservative as any of his ancestors, and who wrote to Countess Clementina that he "would gladly have walked all the way from Cortachy to London to vote against the Radicals"-Lord Airlie, who had been elected by the Conservative party a Representative peer, chiefly on the strength of his family history and attachment, to the amazement of his friends and without any apparent reason, joined the Liberals, thus making still another departure from the traditions of his House. Whatever may have induced him to take this step does not convincingly appear, but as he was easy-going and remarkably free from prejudice, in no sense a violent politician, the likelihood is that his particular circle of friends, especially after his marriage, being of the Radical faith, with some of whose tenets he had contracted a certain body of sympathy while at Oxford, he was persuaded to augment the rather weak forces of the party in the House of Lords. This change, however, did not adversely affect his personal relations with his Scottish fellow-peers, who, in no way resenting his defection from the Conservative fold, continued his representation throughout his lifetime.

In certain parts of his native country his adoption of Liberalism was hailed with delight and marked with approval. The city of Aberdeen—the erstwhile centre of Royalism and Jacobitism, but nevertheless the happy hunting-ground of Radical opinion - honoured Lord Airlie by conferring upon him, on the 15th April, 1859. the freedom of the ancient burgh of the Gordons. reciting the many and noble deeds of his ancestors for King and country, the city fathers neglected to mention that the Ogilvys, "in the tyme of our Civil Wars," had taken a very active part in sacking the town and adding to their wardrobe. Two years later, the county town of Forfar, which had in 1830 made his father and uncles "Parchment Voters," on 29th August, 1861, "as a mark of their respect and esteem," granted the "Freedom of the Burgh" to the Right Honourable David, Earl of Airlie. Though a personal tribute, the magistrates and town council addressed him as "the head and representative" of a House which "is one of the most ancient and respected of our County, and holds the place of a great patriarchal family in our immediate district."

The small property of Downie Park, lying to the south-east of Cortachy Castle and overlooking the policies, originally part of the Inverquharity estate, like Naboth's vineyard, was a coveted place on which the Earl of Airlie, like his father before him, had cast longing eyes, and when the opportunity came in 1860 it was secured for the Airlie estates.

This was one of several schemes of improvement effected at Cortachy, the result of the high artistic sense of the Countess of Airlie, who had ever a keen eye for beauty and symmetry. Hitherto the immediate surroundings of the Castle were rough and unkempt, rustic

to a degree; the kitchen-garden, with its collection of cabbage and green-kale, cauliflower and leek, and other culinary provender, luxuriating in near neighbourhood to the Drawing-Room, out on which its windows looked. This might be convenient for the domestics concerned; it was far from being ornate and picturesque. practical gave way to the ornamental, and instead of plots of vegetables are parterres with a profusion of bloom, rich and varied, which has a fine effect on the exquisite sweep of well-kept lawn. To the west and south in terraced fashion the ground is gracefully adorned with forest trees of many varieties, several of which are associated with royalty, illustrious statesmen, and distinguished members of the nobility; for at this period Cortachy Castle was the rendezvous of many distinguished people in politics, art, and literature. complete the design an excambion had to be made. had long been felt as an encroachment on the privacy of the Castle demesne that the Manse and other parochial offices, together with the Glebe, should be in such close contiguity-indeed, abutting-to the immediate policies, while the high part of the Glebe overlooked the Castle itself. Friendly negotiations with the ecclesiastical authorities took place from time to time. At length, under the powers of Act 10 George III., which was intended to encourage holders of land under entail to improve their property by the exchange of small parcels for other contiguous portions, in 1874 the Earl of Airlie built the present Manse, and designed its accompanying Glebe in lieu of what is now the factor's house and estate office; the old Glebe being included in the Castle policies. This was a great improvement, at once enhancing the amenities and securing the privacy of the home of the Ogilvys of that ilk. But perhaps the most notable, as it was certainly the most ambitious scheme-erring, it may be, as things have turned out for the landed interest, on the side of ambition-was the Castle itself. Its antiquity has already been referred to at the beginning of this part; its history and transformation may now be dealt with. When Cortachy was purchased in 1625, the Castle was in considerable disrepair. and as the first Earl of Airlie had a short time before carried out extensive alterations and improvements on Airlie Castle which he had selected as the chief seat of the family, nothing was done till he was left homeless by the burning of Airlie and Forther Castles in 1640. Then Cortachy was hurriedly put in order against Lord Airlie's return from England in the late autumn of 1641. Nothing more was done till 1695, when the second Earl carried out considerable improvements by way of internal alterations and reroofing, but making no addition. By the troubles that overtook the House of Airlie through the insurrections of the '15 and the '45, whatever may have been the necessity, the Castle remained as it was left by the companion in arms of the Marquis of Montrose—a comparatively plain and, though large, not a very imposing building. The late Earl of Airlie, in 1820-21. made considerable alterations, more by way of embellishment than adding to the accommodation. It was left to the present Lord Airlie to work a wonderful transformation upon the ancient edifice. After plans by the talented Royal Scottish Academician, David Bryce, in Scottish baronial style, and harmonising in a remarkable degree with the original structure, a large addition was made to the Castle, called the "Airlie Wing," in the centre of which "a lofty square baronial tower rears its battlemented head to a great height," while the whole, as the picture shows, presents a palatial edifice of considerable elegance and massive architectural In a letter to Lady Dorothy Nevill the features. Countess of Airlie wrote:

"I have enjoyed beyond words the space and liberty of this now large house, and I think it is very gay and open, and yet capable of delightful solitudes; some day you must really put yourself into the 'Limited' and come and see me."

As by this time the family of the Earl and Countess of Airlie had appeared upon the scene, it may be as well before proceeding to other matters to make their acquaintance. This can only be done in the most casual way, since of the two sons and four daughters who composed the family, with one exception and that the most worthy of our particular study, all still survive; and in the region of the living, where character is sacred and passion is strong, it is wise to be discreet, as in such a case discretion is synonymous with courtesy. Taking them in the order of their birth, it may be noted how, in recent generations of the family, as if it had become a tradition or the natural order of things, at least two females have taken upon them in turn to grace the nuptial bed, thus deferring but at the same time enhancing the young lord's welcome when he arrived:

- 1. Henrietta Blanche, born 8th November, 1852, who bears a striking likeness to her mother in her physical features, was married on 21st September, 1878, to Colonel Sir Henry Montagu Hozier, C.B., 3rd Dragoon Guards, fourth son of James Hozier of Mauldslie Castle, Lanarkshire, and brother of Lord Newlands, created Baron on 19th January, 1898. Although it has not been our custom to pursue the family beyond the immediate descendants, inasmuch as her husband is a good deal in the limelight of controversial politics, it may be stated that the elder daughter of Lady Blanche Hozier, Clementine, was married on 12th September, 1908, to Mr. Winston Churchill, M.P. for the city of Dundee and Secretary for the Colonies; while the younger, Nellie, was married on 4th December, 1915, to Colonel B. Romilly, D.S.O., of the Scots Guards.
- 2. Clementine Gertrude Helen, born 19th June, 1854, was married on 31st December, 1874, to Algernon Bertram, first Lord Redesdale, and has issue.
- 3. David William Stanley, Lord Ogilvy, whose interesting character and soldierly qualities will be considered later and conclude this work.
- 4. Maude Josepha, born 16th November, 1859, was married as his second wife, on 12th October, 1886, to Theodore Whyte of Estes Park, America, who died in 1902. Lady Maude's younger son, Mark Gilchrist, born at St. Andrews on 3rd April, 1898, and commissioned

April, 1917, joined the Artists' Rifle Corps and crossed to France with his regiment in May following. Slightly wounded in his first experience of fighting, he was killed in action, "leading his men in a charge, when he was hit by a machine gun bullet in the neck and was killed instantly," in front of Strazeele Station, on 19th August, 1918.

5. Lyulph Gilchrist Stanley, born 25th June, 1861, settled at Denver, Colorado, U.S.A., where his father had purchased a large stretch of territory. When the South African War broke out in 1899, immediately on learning that hostilities had opened, he sailed for the scene of action; making the passage on board a transport of horses, the first chance he could find. "The world is small," wrote his elder brother: "Pallin, brother of Curragh Pallin, arrived to-day as P.V.O. He came with animals from America, with Sykes (Bays), who is now at Remount Depot De Aar; and with Lyulph, who did yeoman work on board; working like a nigger as foreman, I think." Joining Her Majesty's Forces in the Transvaal, he rendered conspicuous service throughout the campaign, receiving the D.S.O. Again, on the outbreak of the Great World War in 1914, though well beyond military age, he at once returned to his native country, the fighting spirit of his ancestors strong within him, and while he would have preferred the immediate line of action, this being denied him, he served in home defence. In 1902 he married Edith Boothroyd, Lovelands, Colorado, who died in 1908, leaving a son, Jack David Angus Ogilvy, born in 1903. Mr. Lyulph Ogilvy has abandoned the sword for the pen, directing his attention to journalism.

6. Griselda Johanna Helen, born 20th December, 1865, was married on 22nd September, 1897, to James Cheape of Strathtyrum, St. Andrews.

In 1862 the Earl of Airlie was the recipient of an honour greatly coveted by the Scottish nobility, being made a Knight of the Order of the Thistle. He had now come more into the public view, showing an interest and

taking a part in the discussion of public questions, chiefly on the matter of education, popular control of which was now being ventilated in Scotland. Hitherto the schools had been the property of the Church, and had been so from the Reformation. In part a burden on the land, the heritors were responsible for the school buildings, and shared the emoluments of the teachers with the fees of the pupils, while the control of education and general management rested with the ministers. In 1843 came the Disruption, when a large body of ministers, on the plea of spiritual independence, left the Church of Scotland and formed the Free Church of Scotland. In their zeal and stirred by the flame of a great historical ideal-even that of John Knox-the Dissenting fathers and brethren set out on the ambitious mission of having not only a Church but also a school in every parish of the country. In the glow and fervour of the new movement this was to a large extent accomplished-greatly, it must be said, to the credit of the schismatic body. But in course of time, as the heat engendered by the passion of the Disruption died down and the consequent flow of money into the exchequer suffered a measure of restriction, the schools were felt to be a burden. This in a nutshell was the raison d'être of the popular control of education. Relief was sought through the rates. In the trend of things this policy would have come sooner or later, but the pinch of the Voluntaries hastened it. The Earl of Airlie, who with the Countess of Airlie had contracted a strong admiration for several of the leading divines of the Free Church, and were wont frequently to spend week-ends in Edinburgh to wait on the ministrations of the popular preachers of that denomination, especially Dr. Candlish and Dr. Guthrie, threw his influence and exterted his powers in favour of public management and support. On the Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, coming into force, he took an active part in its administration, being a member of the School Boards of the parishes with which through his lands he was identified.

Another matter of an educative nature attracted his

attention. In his University days, before he parted with his studious habits and betook himself to the more diverting and exciting pleasure of the racecourse, he had tasted the flavour of historical research and acquired an interest in the treasures of the past. So much so that on his succession, when "he came to himself," one of the first things he did was to have the family archives examined and arranged—a work which his father had in contemplation a few years before his death -with the result that in 1850 the great array of Charters relating to lands, teinds, honours, and other miscellaneous family interests were set out in chronological order by a noted historian of his day-Mr. Stuart, Aberdeen, composing "The Cortachy Inventory."
While on the subject it may be here stated that on the instigation of his son, the ninth Earl of Airlie, the remaining Manuscripts, comprising letters descriptive of business and family intercourse, were arranged in 1896 by Mr. A. Francis Steuart, Advocate, who wrote the article on the Airlies in the Scots Peerage. With one exception which will be noticed presently, perhaps no subject appealed to Lord Airlie so strongly and engaged his attention so absorbingly as the treasuretrove of historical matter which lay all unexplored in the charter-chests of our old Scottish nobility. A pioneer in the movement to unearth the hidden radium that would throw a flood of light on the doings of the past, when Parliament, in 1869, appointed a Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, the object being "to ascertain where such papers and Manuscripts are deposited, the contents of which may tend to the elucidation of History and the illustration of Constitutional Law, Science, and Literature," he was chosen a Commissioner, and in this capacity he acted with conspicuous assiduity. The publication of historical manuscripts has been a source of considerable advantage to the student of history, to the illumination of events many of which were hitherto obscure.

Never at heart a soldier, in this respect differing from nearly all his ancestors, yet as Deputy-Lieutenant of the county of Forfar, when the Volunteer movement took shape and began to assume formidable dimensions by the enthusiastic response of citizens generally, Lord Airlie joined the territorial force and was appointed Captain, 12th Forfarshire Volunteers.

In ecclesiastical polity, as might be expected, he was an attached adherent of Episcopal orders, but this did not prevent him in the general catholicity of his temper holding in respect the National Church as directly representing the mode of worship and form of government desired by the vast majority of the people of Scotland. He was "Low Church" and a "Moderate"; in devotion and ritual more in sympathy with the simple and unaffected forms of Presbyterian observance than the high ritualistic service of the Church in some parts of England. For one thing, he could never abide the Good Friday celebrations, and to avoid them he almost invariably spent Easter at Cortachy. Shortly before the second Reformation of the Church of Scotland, when Andrew Melville was agitating in favour of unadulterated Presbytery, James VI., on the strength of an Act of Parliament which conferred on the King, or his Commissioners power to inspect the infeftments and foundations of hospitals and charitable incorporations, claimed the right to appear at the deliberations of the General Assembly in person or by Commissioners. On six different occasions he was present in person—in 1589. and from 1597 to 1602 inclusive. In the intervening years he was represented by Commissioners. On the union of the Crowns and His Majesty's removal to England, a new arrangement was inaugurated under the designation of Lord High Commissioner, whereby a nobleman of outstanding merit was appointed to represent the Sovereign in the High Court of the Church, which meets annually in Edinburgh in the month of May. With the exception of the troublous time of the Civil War, and twice during the Commonwealth, this statutory provision has been observed. The position of Lord High Commissioner of the Crown has ever been a coveted one, and has been held throughout the centuries by many distinguished

peers of the realm. For two years, 1872 and 1873, the Earl of Airlie was Her Majesty's representative. Though he was much averse to appearing in public and extremely nervous over the prospect of it, he not only enjoyed the tenure of his ecclesiastical commission, but discharged the duties with great dignity, while his brilliant Countess was in her element in dispensing the hospitalities of Holyrood Palace. This she did on an enhanced scale of entertainment. It is said that Lady Airlie was among the first, if not the first, to introduce a touch of colour to the otherwise sombre appearance of the black-coated throng by inviting their womenfolk to the festivities at the old home of the Stewarts; while the dinners given to the clergy and other guests at the Palace were enlivened by the pipers marching round the large dining-hall playing the inspiring music of the Highlands. On one occasion the Moderator of the Assembly asked His Grace if he had any objection to the pipers playing "The Bonnie House o' Airly"! "None whatever," replied the Earl, "but I doubt whether we shall get it; for one piper is an Ogilvy and the other a Campbell; but we shall see." The necessary instructions being given, the music of the old ballad was heard approaching, when there walked into the dining-hall, playing with great dignity and vigour, a single piper-the Ogilvy. "I expected this," said Lord Airlie to the Moderator; "the Campbells and the Ogilvys have long memories." But what engaged the attention of Lord Airlie more than anything else, on which his heart was set and in which he took a deep and unflagging interest, but, sad to say, he was not spared to see the full reward of all the expenditure of money and energy, was the establishment of a herd of Aberdeen-Angus cattle at Cortachy, which in course of time took a prominent place in the herdbook. Polled or hornless cattle had long been familiar in the county of Forfar, and were known as "Angus doddies," or "humble" cattle, akin to a similar breed in Aberdeenshire called "Buchan humlies." Their origin is a matter of speculation and conjecture; some authorities arguing from their descriptive characteristic

think that they were originally imported from Norway, and this chiefly on the ground not only that a similar breed had been long established there, but that their earliest denomination in this country—"humble" or "humbies" -points to their Norwegian extraction, inasmuch as the term is said to be derived from the Suco-Gothic word hamla, to mutilate. Be this as it may, the truth or merely an inference, black-polled cattle had for many years pastured the meadows along the banks of the Prosen. The late Earl of Airlie when, on his marriage in 1812, he became "Country Gentleman," had several fine specimens of "Angus doddies" at the Home Farm at Airlie Castle, which were taken over eight years later by his brother, Captain William Ogilvy, when he took up his residence there, and who was the first of his family to cultivate the breed on something like scientific lines. So long ago as 1829, he exhibited at Perth an Angus bull, his only competitor on the occasion being Hugh Watson of Keillor, the pioneer of systematic breeding of pedigree stock, with a brown dodded cow. It was from his uncle that Lord Airlie contracted the fancy for the breed, and while he had purchased a few heifers of good quality from the Airlie Castle stock, it was not till 1865 that he faced in a serious mood the establishment of a pedigree herd, which rapidly came to the front. Under the sagacious advice of William White, Spott, a noted breeder of that period, who had a herd of excellent quality in Glenprosen, he proceeded by careful selection to lay the foundation of a good stock. From the herd at Spott he purchased three fine animals—Delia, New Year's Day, and Jessica; acquiring from other wellknown breeders the best of blood. In 1874, at the Tillyfour sale, he obtained four of the best-bred cows and heifers exposed on that occasion—Regina, of the fashionable Pride of Aberdeen family; Sylph, of the Queen tribe; Salvia, of the Zara tribe; and Diana, of the Daisy branch of the Queen; being the highest priced animals of the sale. At other sales he secured representatives of the Erica family and other noted blood. Four years later, at Rothiemay, he obtained for what was then considered a high figure-135 guineas-Pride of Aberdeen V., a daughter of the original Pride, whose bullcalf Shah gained the national prize; Sybil I., the first prize as a cow at the Highland Society's Show in 1877, and first prize and the Challenge Cup the same year at Aberdeen as the best animal of the breed. In the selection of sires he was equally careful, the most prominent of which were Potentate and his son, Pontiff. At great cost the Earl of Airlie had established a famous herd at Cortachy, and was privileged to see two successful sales: in 1876, when twenty-six head averaged £35; and in 1880 when forty-three head averaged over £30. In 1881, a month before he sailed for Colorado, his two-year-old heifer Miranda gained first prize at the Highland Society's Show, having taken first place the previous year at the same exhibition. Before leaving for America, where he intended a stay of some months, he gave instructions concerning the herd against his return and a sale that was to take place the following year. It will be seen what happened.

The age of ghosts and hobgoblins, haunted castles, and other mysterious visitants, like belief in witches and warlocks, brownies and kelpies, fairies and other magical spirits, has passed into the limbo of discarded things; and in the plain, matter-of-fact times in which we live such strange stories as in former days excited the minds, and found a certain amount of credence among a populace extremely superstitious, are now generally resolved into mere optical or oracular delusions acting on an excitable fancy or an irritable nervous temperament. There can be no doubt, however, that, in the olden time, the people dwelling along the Braes of Angus and beyond the Grampians, who were of Celtic origin and constitutionally romantic and imaginative, firmly believed, like the ancient Greeks, that the air was tenanted with ghosts and other spirits who had the power of assuming bodily shape at their pleasure, just as they believed in witchcraft and fairies; but there can be as little doubt that these apparitions were chiefly of a subjective character and without external reality. A real bona fide ghost, the revival of spiritism notwithstanding, is now frankly discredited. The offspring of superstition, education has weakened belief in ethereal spectres, malign or propitious, till at length, like the age to which it belonged, it has passed away. Yet even the most casual person must recognise that strange things do happen which to the most enlightened judgment are inexplicable and mysterious, leaving the impression that

> "There are more things in heaven and earth Than are dreamt of in our philosophy."

In common with the spirit of the age which gave it birth, together with the Celtic temperament, the House of Airlie has its legend, or tradition of spectral apparition, which was revived in connection with the Earl of Airlie. The story, to be judged for what it is worth, is to the effect that on the near approach of the death of the head of the family, music is heard like the wail of the bagpipes, the shrill sound of a fife, accompanied by the beating of a drum, which has given rise to the legend of "the Airlie Drummer."

The following circumstantial account, recorded by Lady Margaret Cameron of Lochiel, second daughter of the fifth Duke of Buccleuch, of a nocturnal visit of the Drummer is, by way of coincidence, certainly remarkable. The scene is laid at Achnacarry:

"After dinner I left the Drawing-Room to get out a piece of China to shew my sister-in-law, then Lady Dalkeith; and to the Countess of Lathom, then Lady Skelmersdale. On returning to the room both became silent; I noticed the fact but made no remark. Two days after, on Tuesday I think, on the arrival of the post, my sister-in-law, Lady Dalkeith, came to my room with the newspaper in her hand and asked me first, if there was any tradition about curious noises or sounds being heard in the family? On my answering her there was not, she asked if I had noticed Lady Skelmersdale's and her silence on my return to the Drawing-Room two nights before? I replied in the affirmative. Then she told me that, while I was out of the room, she and Lady Skelmersdale distinctly heard the sound as of a drummer beating the drum outside the house

and remarked how it sounded like what they had heard described as 'The Airlie Drummer'; but decided not to mention the subject for fear of alarming me in case there should be any tradition in the Lochiel family. She then told me that the death of Lord Airlie was announced in the paper as having taken place in America the same night that she and Lady Skelmersdale had heard the sound."

Now, as already hinted, the Earl of Airlie, who had acquired a large section of land in North America in 1880, where he had settled his younger son, Lyulph, like the man of the parable he must needs go and prove it, sailed on the 18th August, 1881, on a visit of inspection. making his headquarters at Denver, the capital of Colorado. Soon after the survey of his continental possessions, he went to New Mexico to inspect a ranch about which he had been corresponding some time before he left this country, and while there he was seized with serious illness, having contracted a severe chill. Delicate as a child, he was never robust, being all his life anæmic and of soft fibre. On discovering his illness he at once started on his return to Denver, where he arrived in a raging fever and in a state of collapse, and although the best medical skill available was speedily obtained. it was found that double pneumonia had supervened, and that his case was hopeless. Two days later he died there, at eleven o'clock on the morning of Sunday, 25th September, 1881.

"On calculating the difference of time between Scotland and America" (Lady Margaret Cameron's account continues), "the sound of the Drummer was heard at Achnacarry about an hour before his death."

Truly a remarkable coincidence, vouched for by a sensible person who was known in her day to have been a careful observer of natural phenomena, and of a shrewd, well-balanced mind in no way hysterical, and who had no other motive than that of being truthful. But the question may very naturally be asked, Why should "the Airlie Drummer" be heard at Achnacarry? The sequel to the story furnishes the answer. A preliminary word of explanation, however, may be given.

In the perilous days of feudal Scotland, when might was right and it behoved every man of substance to fortify himself against the encroachments of the enemy, Airlie Castle was erected into a fortalice. A constant lookout was kept against a chance invasion. The watchtower, which may be seen by consulting the picture, was occupied day and night, while in the adjoining turret the drum was hung, the beating of which gave the signal of alarm, not only to the garrison within the enclosure but also to the numerous retainers over the Airlie lands. In the strenuous days of the Covenant when the Earl of Airlie had gone whole-heartedly to the side of Charles I.. to the great chagrin of the Argyll faction, it was doubly necessary to be on guard against the hereditary enemy of the House of Airlie; but as the event proved, "Archibald the Grim," without warning of his approach, took the Castle by surprise. The following alleges how this became possible:

"Old Mrs. Maclean of Ardgour had asked me more than once if I had ever heard 'the Airlie Drummer,' and I answered 'No, why should I?'—and 'why should he be heard at Achnacarry?' She answered, 'Because the Drummer was a Cameron, and that the Ogilvys, thinking he had betrayed them, left him to perish in the flames when Airlie Castle was burnt. The Drummer was said to have climbed to the top of the Tower and to have continued playing the signal of alarm till he was overwhelmed by the flames and protesting his innocence: since which time he is supposed always to have been heard before the death of any of the family of the House of Airlie.'"

The body of Lord Airlie was embalmed and brought to Cortachy, where it now rests in the new house of the Airlie dead, there to await the summoning of all flesh in the great day of the coming of our Lord.

Blanche, Countess of Airlie, survived her husband and saw great length of days, growing with the years in chastened beauty of character and developing a serene disposition of mind of incomparable grace and majesty. A very singular person, facile princeps of a select circle of clever women and described "as a fine type of intellectual patrician womanhood," possessing a

masculine strength of character, and endowed with great and manifold gifts which she cultivated to a high degree of excellence-Lady Airlie stood unrivalled, a solitary but stately figure in a group of distinguished and talented women of her time. A diligent student of all kinds of informative literature—religious, scientific, historical, and romantic, in the halcyon days of her reign at Cortachy, when she was in the zenith of her powerand in the full bloom of her intellectual fertility, she was surpassingly interesting, and attracted to her society the élite of literary circles of the Mid-Victorian era. Born on 3rd July, 1830, when she first came to Cortachy, a young bride in her twenty-second year, knowing little of Scotland and nothing of the peculiar temperament of the Scottish people, "so different," as she wrote, "from those of Cheshire, their ways and idiosyncrasies—they mistrusted me at first, but they soon held out the hand of good-fellowship; how much I have learnt from them, and they perhaps something from the English daughter who came from the land of chivalry." It was a frequent topic of discourse with Lady Airlie in her later years, the mixed reception she received in the lands of the Ogilvys. The fact was that the prejudice against the English still lingered among the old people of the Glens of Clova and Prosen, many of whom still remembered the long years of exile of "the fighting Lord of the '45," the fragrance of whose memory still pervaded their recollection of him. But she soon surmounted this antipathy to her Anglican origin, and notwithstanding the apparent hauteur of her manner, to which they had not hitherto been accustomed, when they discovered that behind the lofty dignity of her carriage and seeming aloofness of her attitude there was a remarkably kind heart, sympathetic to a degree, and a mind of broad. catholic range, practical and considerate, she found her way without difficulty to the hearts of the people. She loved them and they adored her. She appreciated their independent spirit, their acute intelligence, their quiet, pawkie humour, their thrift and sterling industry; compared with them, she was wont to say, the English

peasantry were as mediocrity unto genius. A wise woman, sagacious and quick to learn by adopting the principle of give and take, live and let live, by the way of least resistance she accomplished her ascendency.

Early in life, indeed while but a girl, Blanche Stanley was introduced to the domain of literature, which in after years became the absorbing passion of her mind. She had an inordinate love of books, an insatiable desire for knowledge of every variety and kind. Almost every-thing worth reading she read. Her friendships, many of them political, were in the main literary, and love of books was the chief avenue to her intimate acquaintance. A brilliant intellect, her sagacity and caustic criticism and acute intelligence attracted the attention of many of the celebrities about the middle of the nineteenth century, while she was yet in her teens, whom she met at Bath House, the home of Lord and Lady Ashburton and the rendezvous of genius. There she made the acquaintance of Thackeray in the height of his fame, Monckton Milnes (afterwards Lord Houghton), Matthew Arnold, and several others distinguished in letters. There, too, she revived her friendship with Thomas Carlyle and Jane Welsh; the former she had known as a child, but she formed a friendship, close and intimate, that endured throughout the life of the "Sage of Chelsea." The great genius held her in high esteem, frequently wrote to her, and in return she was greatly attached to all his writings, especially his "Critical and Miscellaneous Essays," to which she was devoted and all of which she read through one winter when in her eighty-eighth year. Carlyle she always spoke of with great reverence "as a poet and a born gentleman." Jane Welsh she knew intimately, and was wont to tell many stories of her relations with her husband and the little jealousies she so frequently displayed; whom she has described "as very interesting, born to be a peacock—a fine lady, but putting on one side all offers and chances of worldly success for her peasant philosopher." These reminiscences with the valuable letters, it is to be hoped, will one day be given to the public. In

the sphere of politics she had many intimate friendships with the great leaders of the past century--Lord Granville, Lord Rosebery, Mr. Gladstone, Sir William Harcourt: and though an ardent Liberal, she had a great admiration for Disraeli, whom she met often, and who frequently dined with her at Airlie Lodge, greatly to the annoyance of Gladstone, who pettishly entreated her to relinquish his society, but in vain; asserting that "while the Tories never understood him, the Liberals hated him too much to do him justice." To the end of his life Lady Airlie kept in touch with "Dizzy," forgetting his politics and interested chiefly in the distinguished man of letters. With other notabilities she held close intercourse. John Ruskin she held in high esteem, and was a friendly, though on occasion captious, critic of his artistic theories. The author of "Rab and his Friends" was in particular favour; his humour pleased her, while his great broad-sweeping sympathies appealed to the kindred element in herself. An admirer of Edmund Gosse, whose "style is always better than anyone's," she displayed a wonderful aptitude to recognise genius. But above all others, Dr. Jowett, Master of Balliol, was her prime favourite, the sheet-anchor of her intellectual fellowship. She spoke of him more than of any other in her later years. She admired his breadth of spirit and catholic outlook, was deeply attached to his writings on philosophic and religious thought, and through her intercourse with him she, perhaps, owed more than to any other that liberal expansiveness of view which she brought to bear on the varied subjects which engaged her mind. And then her heart warmed to Sir Walter Scott, so many of his novels having frequent reference to the Stanleys and the Ogilvys-"Waverley," "Woodstock," "The Fair Maid of Perth," "Quentin Durward," and "Tales of a Grandfather"; she found in him a personal touch, an echo of her family history.

For two and thirty years Blanche, Countess of Airlie, reigned at Cortachy Castle. Many and great were the improvements she effected on the lordly demesne, which are a lasting tribute to her fine artistic sense; many and

great were the people she entertained in the lordly mansion—men distinguished in letters, science, art, politics, and diplomacy; and as she moved amongst them, la Grande Dame, she was a picturesque figure, stately and majestic, "a perfect woman, nobly planned," admired not more for her mental gifts and the great wealth of her information, her exquisite taste and remarkable culture, than for her genuine goodness of heart and discriminating judgment. The Marquis of Dufferin, who had moved among the best of European society, after a visit to Cortachy Castle in 1875, wrote to Lady Dorothy Nevill:

"Lady Airlie is always charming, but never more perfectly so than in her own home—so kind and cordial, the very ideal of a Dame Châtelaine."

Shortly after she came to Cortachy, the Countess of Airlie converted "an old kitchen garden" into the "Garden of Friendship"—so named because the trees, chiefly ornamental, are memorials planted by distinguished visitors—the Duchess of Edinburgh, Dr. John Brown, and many others. Lord Sherbrooke, a yearly visitor, who had the gift of writing verse, has left behind him at once an appreciation of his noble hostess and a memory of his visit, by inscribing in the Summerhouse:

"And not unhonoured shall the Grove ascend,
For every tree was planted by a friend,
And she at whose commands its shades arise,
Is good and gracious, true, and fair, and wise."

Shortly after the death of her husband, in 1883, the Countess of Airlie, who had practically withdrawn from the great world in which she had so long been a prominent figure, took up her residence at Airlie Castle, where she lived from midsummer to late autumn for the next thirty-four years; spending the winter and spring months at her villa in Florence. She lived a quiet, retired, and studious life, "more picturesque and distinguished in late middle-life than anyone else." If Cortachy Castle with its spacious halls and winding

corridors, "very gay and open, and yet capable of delightful solitudes," were a source of great pleasure and pride to Lady Airlie, Airlie Castle, described by Augustus Hare as "the tiniest Castle in the world," was to her a dream—though more than once she spoke of it as her "match-box." Its sylvan beauty appealed to her vivid imagination and artistic sense, while its romantic elements gilded her vision of historic memories. Here, mellowed with the years and chastened by sorrows, as in the rich tints that adorned the trees in autumn, Lady Airlie developed a radiance of character bordering on the sublime. Of this period Augustus Hare, who visited her at Airlie Castle in 1896, has written:

"In the serene beauty of her age, she herself lends a lustre to her surroundings; quietly, contentedly severing most links with the great world in which she has so long been a star."

At Airlie Castle her visitors were few but select. Kindred spirits in intellectual sympathy with her formed her circle. These came with regularity till one after another passed beyond all earthly journeyings, leaving her the solitary figure of her day and generation—far advanced in years, infirm in body, but still majestic in intellect; clear and strong as in middle-life, as Lady Dorothy Nevill described her—

"the stately and serene figure, mindful of others' even the meanest's good that I ever remembered her to have been. Would that there were more such women! Alas! to formulate such a wish is to speak of the impossible; for nature but rarely moulds such a nature, in which knowledge, intelligence, and charity are so excellently blended and combined."

In October, 1917, Lady Airlie left Airlie Castle and went to reside permanently in London. There, on 3rd July, 1920, she celebrated her ninetieth birthday. The occasion brought forth a great rally of her friendships and admirers, and on her part a characteristic contribution which reflects the temper of her mind, the chastened beauty of her disposition, and that exquisite purity of style which adorned all her letters:

"My ninetieth birthday is past! How good all have been to the old woman, and how inadequate must be her thanks!

And yet, she is deeply and truly grateful.

Too many flowers, too much fruit. Orchids and nectarines from Alice De Rothschild: strawberries, each packed in a separate leaf; many bouquets: a blue hydrangia: a bowl of wild herbs from the hill-side, culled by my Maude. Such a wilderness of colour, such a blending of aroma! I swoon! I faint! I feel as if smothered in a butt of malmsey.

And then at last comes a letter and one damask rose from the garden of Madame de Sévigné, in the South of France. One damask rose! its perfume still lingers. It is the same damask rose from which I make my pot pourri. The first plant came from Lady Bloomfield forty years ago. It flourished in the rich loam of the small garden at Airlie Castle. Its suckers have been given to many loved friends, and they speak kindly of the giver to those who nurture them. They are single roses with a golden corona, and where they are loved and find congenial soil they flourish and increase, and yield an almost undying perfume when turned into pot pourri."

A purist in language, a born letter-writer, her "always beautiful letters" brought forth the counsel of one of her most intimate friends, who wrote: "If I were you, I should give up everything and take to writing; you are such a genius in that way." She might have done so with profit; she had the spiritual insight, the gentle touch. She was gifted with an intellect that bordered on genius, and no subject was too weighty for her penetrating mind, no topic too subtle or abstruse for her profound intelligence. She could make her way through the deeps of philosophy as she rejoiced to thread the labyrinths of mysticism. So great was the wealth of her information and so wide her culture that, saving mathematics and kindred subjects, there was no topic on which she did not discourse with interest and which she did not illumine. liant conversationalist, she ranged over a wide field of variegated learning, which made her a person of transcending attractiveness in literary circles, in which for over seventy years she was a prominent figure. Intellectual intercourse with her was refreshing, as intellect was the key to her friendship. Contemptuous of flimsy sophistry, light talk, or trivial gossip, her conversation was always rational, literary, educative, and instructive. Her mental alertness continued until the end, while her abounding charity ceased only with the beating of her heart. After a long life of remarkable grace and beauty, full of many and kindly deeds, and ornamented with chivalrous courtesy, Blanche, Countess of Airlie, died at 6, York Terrace, Regent's Park, London, on 5th January, 1921, in the ninety-first year of her age, and was buried at Cortachy in the Airlie house of the dead, on which she layished so much of her artistic taste.

## DAVID WILLIAM, NINTH EARL OF AIRLIE

A SOLDIER again! the field of action! the theatre of war! "delight in a gallant steed, a bright sword, and a fair lady!" is the picture set before us in this the last member of the House of Airlie who falls to be included in the tale of their history. Contrary to all design, persuasion, and influence to direct his thoughts to other channels of activity, and to excite his desire and mould his ambition for other pursuits in life more agreeable to the temperament and wishes of his parents, neither of whom was greatly enamoured of "the roll of musketry" or "the cannon's roar"-David William Stanley, Lord Airlie, the music of war in his blood, chose to be a soldier. In scientific phrase, he was an example of reversion to type. Notwithstanding the admixture of English blood, he was an Ogilvy to the core, pronounced and discernible; and though he had the Stanley eyes, his features bore a striking resemblance to the first Earl of Airlie, though without that hero's stern inflexibility of expression, but not far short of him in his profound strength of character. He was not unlike his great ancestor, too, in his great capacity for business and dogged will to carry every purpose to its legitimate issue. Of the Celtic strain of temperament, he was impulsive, daring, and romantic; in intellect, persevering rather than brilliant; in morals, a strict disciplinarian; in religion, a pietist rather than a doctrinaire. In all respects an Ogilvy redivivus, he served to confirm the theory once propounded by his mother on the relative hereditary influence of parents on their children:

"I have noticed," she wrote, "how beauty or the contrary is inherited from the father, while the charm of capable and



DAVID WILLIAM, NINTH EARL OF AIRLIE.

distinguished women is given as a sort of veneer to their generation only,—manner, voice, way of thinking come from propinquity to their mothers; but the male sex continue to be masters and creators of a race, even moral qualities continue in a family unchanged by women's influence."

He was born at Florence on 20th January, 1856, where his parents had gone to pass the winter, and-if not by design, at least by accident—it proved a not unsuitable place for an Ogilvy to first see the light. from the villa in which Lord Airlie was born stands the Palazzo St. Clemente, the residence of Prince Charles Edward Stewart and his wife the Princess of Stohlberg. the initials and portrait in medallions of the former being conspicuous all over the old Palace, even the weathercocks on its battlemented turrets bearing his monogram. If the spirit of the erstwhile "Prince of Wales" and temporary "Regent of Scotland" continued to haunt the old scene where he revelled amid his disappointed hopes, he would hail with delight the advent to the stage of being of the descendant of a House whose loyalty to his race had been so abundantly proved even to their undoing. It was a strange association; a touch with the past; a home atmosphere. A lusty child, Lord Airlie grew and "waxed strong," developing into a portly figure of youthful manhood. He was a very affectionate boy, devoted to his mother and greatly attached to his sisters, who made much of the future head of the House. As might be expected from our knowledge of her disposition, Lady Airlie was soon at work seeking to impress the mind of her son in favour of literature; the pen rather than the sword being within the orbit of her ambition. She did her best to set his mind in the track of letters, oblivious, perhaps, of the more potent influence which he had inherited from his ancestors, and which had been born with him. Introducing him at an early stage to romantic literature in the hope of kindling his enthusiasm for study, she all unwittingly awoke within him those elements of heroic action with which his nature was so copiously saturated, while, at the same time, he acquired such an inordinate taste for fiction

that his ardent devotion to its thrilling atmosphere interfered with his more sober studies. He went to school first at Brighton, where he was much affected with homesickness. The novelty of the sea, the home of marvels to the youthful mind, if for a time its restlessness seemed to act in unison with his perturbed feelings, was not sufficient compensation for absence from Cortachy, its hills and glens, its rivers and variegated scenery, the gambols over the meadows with his sisters, the long rides on his pony, and above all the cherished companionship of Sandy the Piper. The first term seemed to him an age, and the Christmas holidays a great relief; but too soon over, the lonely and dreaded journey back to school made such a deep impression upon him that in after-years he was wont to say, when duty called him from his family circle, "It is the old feeling of going back to school again." In a letter to his mother, who had written him on attaining his eleventh birthday, counselling him to be good and to attend to his studies. he wrote, on 22nd January, 1867:

"Thank you very much for your kind letter. I woke very early this morning, and I thought of you, and I thought of the Greek which I had done badly, and it made me crie. You do not know how much I love you in those moments when I am awake, thinking of you all alone. . . . I will try very hard to resist all temptation which I may meet with here. I used to try very hard to resist temptation at Mr. Lee and I think I did, except one half, when I think I trusted too much to myself and did not pray from my heart to God to help me, and so sometimes I used to be led away into not talking as you would like and that sort of thing."

A boy of sensitive conscience, of strong will, of an inherent sense of right much above the ordinary, a young idealist, enthusiastic and reverential, he had a great regard for authority, and obedience was the breath of his life. To conform to the will and wishes of his parents was his strenuous endeavour, and to this end he bent his inclination so far as he could. In compliance with the destiny which had been marked out for him, after two years at Brighton Lord Airlie was entered at

Eton as a further stage to a University career, but as vet he had given no indication of an aptitude for high academic pursuits. Instead of concentrating his mind on the stable elements of cultured education, he frittered away his time and energy on romantic literature, so that his House Master, after a year at school, reported that "his work is to a certain extent clumsy and slow. but there is a good deal of solidity in it; and it is hard enough to bear much polishing." Even in novel-reading he was far from being methodical. He read as the whim seized him. "The Old Curiosity Shop" was laid aside for "Vanity Fair," and though he "liked Colonel Crawley, Dobbin, and Amelia Sedley," he was dipping into "Woodstock" in search of new interest before he had finished Thackeray's masterpiece. On the sport side of school-life, however, he was in the front rank. His great physical strength and pugnacious daring made him a valuable asset on the football-field, where he was known as "Ogilvius Heros." In the House games he was always placed in the centre of the bully, a prominent figure in forceful tactics, emerging, as described by his House-master, "like a battering-ram with his shirt bulging and his shins a mass of bruises";—a situation altogether after his heart's desire, a real struggle for supremacy in which he was a hero bearing the marks of battle and receiving the plaudits of his admirers. was life and prophetic of the spirit which determined his future career. In a letter to his mother after one of these contests he wrote:

"Today we have been playing Lower Boy Match for the Cup. We got licked by a goal and a rouge. Now I ought to be in Chapel but I forgot it as clean as anything. I suppose I shall be whipped again, but however, I could not help it. The Master who I am up to wrote to Tutor to say that I had been doing better and I have been doing . . . At the shops here if they can get a pair of horns they put them on to another head if they can get one. Don't you think it is rather a Cockney dodge?"

Leaving Eton with no great scholastic reputation to his credit, he yet impressed his masters with the idea.

as was discovered later, that there was no lack of ability. that he was possessed of considerable mental power, had the gift of subtle argument, and the unusual merit for a boy of clear statement. A vigorous intellect, when the subject interested and appealed to him, he had the patience and the goodwill to work; but "the pugnacious element in his character made him fly in opposition if a thing was forced upon him." This being his disposition, in the hard and fast line of study prevailing at our public schools, it was not surprising that, instead of persevering with the dry, technical rules of grammar or syntax, or the equally formal theorems of algebra and the definition of geometry, he was frequently found pursuing his own bent in reading outside the course of his curriculum such subjects as appealed to him. especially Roman history "in the great struggle between the patricians and their dependents for civic rights." An individualist, saturated with the strain of the Celtic temperament, instead of being confined to the narrow paths of a prescribed order of study, he preferred to roam, like the native deer on the Tulchan uplands, free and unfettered over the wide field of knowledge, and especially the history of great men and their actions.

Like most of his ancestors for more than three hundred years, Lord Airlie, accompanied by a tutor, the Rev. Arthur Butler, went abroad to France, Italy, and Germany in order to stretch the curtain of his acquaintance with the humanities. But, contrary to the traditions of his House and their partiality to the "auld alliance," he did "not like the French people enough to care to talk much to them when not compelled," and, in the true spirit of Etonian self-sufficiency, thought "one Englishman so immeasurably superior to any amount of foreigners in this distant land." In Italy he did "not care a rush for Art and Churches," but looked well at the streets and studied closely the people. In Germany he came into touch with the military caste, then bulging mightily on their recent victory over the French, and especially the cavalry, when he was "seen to square himself up in

passing Saxon officers as if measuring himself against them." Like most of his race, he had a great opinion of the Briton and his superiority over other nationalities—a not uncommon persuasion of youthful buoyancy. The following letter shows how at Tours he did his best to uphold the honour of the British people:

"We had the most peculiar dinner as regards the order of the courses last night that I ever had. I will give you the menu in order. Soup, potato in its skin with butter, boiled beef, turbot, caper sauce, duck, fillet of beef, chicory or brussel sprouts, chicken and salad, pudding: each of these things, as I have written them down, came as a separate course. I was very full towards the end of dinner, but as the Frenchmen eat everything I felt that the honour of Great Britain was at stake and so accomplished every course."

Having finished the Grand Tour, during which, while sight-seeing was largely taken advantage of, he had methodically pursued his studies, he returned to Cortachy still measurably short of the standard of entrance to Oxford. He was now in his eighteenth year, an age when a youth speedily determines his calling in life if he has not already done so. At this juncture. while enjoying a brief respite from his studies, Lord Airlie formed a friendship which exerted a considerable influence upon him, and perhaps had the effect of leading him to adopt a military career. Hitherto he had not given the slightest hint to anyone of what was working in his mind. He had shown in a letter to his mother that he was not enamoured of the prospect of going to Oxford: "I do not hear very encouraging accounts of Balliol from my friends. Some who have been there say it is not at all jolly"; but beyond his apparent anathy towards higher academic studies, he had not so much as ventilated the desire to follow a military calling. The Rev. Harry Stewart, then minister of the parish of Oathlaw, immediately adjacent to his parish of Cortachy, a man of cultured mind and of gentlemanly address, in the early years of his ministry had been an Army Chaplain. A friend of the family and a frequent visitor at the Castle, Lord Airlie, fresh from his foreign travels,

found him deeply interesting, and contracted a great regard for him, often riding over to the Manse and frequently staying the night. Without intending to influence him, he entertained him with his experience of the Army, and being an enthusiast, presented to the eager mind of his youthful guest pictures of the romance and chivalry of the Service. The result was that unintentionally he fanned into a flame the latent feeling that was working in his mind, and which eventually led him to form the resolution to enter the Army. Lord Airlie would have done so in any case. He was a soldier born. Anyone who knew him ever so slightly could not escape seeing it. The atmosphere of his life was the spirit of the Army. Love of action was inherent in his nature, and to him the field was a more congenial theatre than the Senate.

It was while at Airlie Castle, where he had gone with his tutor to resume his studies, that he took his fate into his own hands and finally determined on entering the Army. Though by nature impulsive, but not rashly so, this resolution was not the result of any sudden impulse or temporary wave of romantic feeling: it was the outcome of a long debate within himself and kept to himself; a struggle between inclination and what had been so persistently impressed upon him as a duty. Desirous of pleasing his mother, whose own tastes were scholastic, and who had designed for him a University career, he was reluctant to disappoint her hope concerning him; but he was deeply sensible at once of his unfitness by at least another year's preparation for Oxford, while he gravely suspected that the strong meat served out at Balliol was beyond his intellectual powers to masticate. For him to be with Jowett was the fond wish of Lady Airlie, but from the short distance he had travelled with his tutor Lord Airlie had discerned that to soar into the mystical region of transcendental thought was beyond the compass of his plain matter-of-fact mind. Almost two and a half centuries ago the hero of the House had grappled successfully with "his Logicks and Metaphysics," even in a time of high tension and distracting

love-making; but Lord Airlie, with all the "veneer" of a "clever and distinguished" mother, had not the alert and acute intellect of his great ancestor. Yet, if he was not gifted with the subtlety of mind required for the abstract problems of psychology, his tutor was persuaded that, though "the love of ease and amusement was strongly developed in him," by powerful effort of which he was capable when he bent himself to the task, "he might pass with fair success through his Oxford course"; but, as it was, "he had no real interest in our Oxford studies." The crisis had come upon him when he must determine the true metier of life. He decided to be a soldier. To those who have read this history his decision cannot come as a surprise; it was in his blood, and in the traditions of his race. As his granduncle said, "All my ancestors were soldiers, and I want to be a soldier too." Thus it came about that one Sunday in the middle of October, 1873, Lord Airlie mounted his horse at Airlie Castle and rode to Cortachy, where his parents were entertaining a large party, of whom Sir William Harcourt, a great friend of the family, was a distinguished member. Shrewdly disclosing his mind to the Liberal statesman, though himself a Tory as blue as any of his ancestors, he so impressed him in favour of his resolution being the outcome of deliberate and conscientious conviction, that the Earl and Countess of Airlie were urged by him to let their son have his way and allow him to enter the Army, on the ground that to force so strong a nature to pursue an uncongenial calling might issue in disastrous failure. A soldier it was decided Lord Airlie was to be. It was wise of his parents to recognise the inevitable and accede to his wish; all the more so as he had firmly determined that rather than be baulked of his cherished desire he would, if necessary, enlist, and his will was strong, his purpose steadfast. With a light heart he rode back to Airlie Castle, the scene of so many and so daring exploits which, now that he was to be in line with the great men of his House, would serve to embellish the picture of his dream of martial service.

The course of his studies was immediately changed. Instead of Balliol and high philosophy, it was Sandhurst and the art of war. The peaceful path of letters was displaced by the more exciting exercises of the field. and the sword of honour rather than an Oxford distinction came within the purview of his ambition. advantage he reaped from his former studies was that he found entrance to Sandhurst an easy matter. But what a different spirit he now brought to bear upon his work! Hitherto he had worked patiently, ploddingly, and by dint of sheer will-power forcing his mind to his task; now in his element, in the track of his ancestors, with the traditions of a long line of soldiers surrounding him like "a great cloud of witnesses," the spirit within him awoke to meet the dawn of his real destiny. Writing to his mother from Hallaton Hall, Uppingham, the charm of the new life breaks forth:

"I slept at Rugby and came on here by the 1.50 train. I went to have a look at the College at Rugby, but the building is not much. Now, at last, I know what people feel who at last see Rome or Venice after longing for it for many years. Coming from Rugby here I was very much interested in a week in a French country house, when suddenly I woke up to feel myself in Leicestershire. What grass fields that seem to say, 'Gallop over me!' What fences and brooks! For the first time I saw a country over which you could go without constantly coming into deep clay plough. I could hardly sit still for pleasure at the sight of what was exactly like what I expected to see."

At Sandhurst he came into touch for the first time with kindred spirits, and there—contrary to Eton, where in a measure he enjoyed the aristocratic atmosphere and social éclat of that school of fashion, he made no particular friendships—he contracted associations and formed ties of comradeship that endured throughout his lifetime. He was assiduous in his studies, but as he "cared not a rush for Art," he found surveying a difficult subject to encounter. With Balliol as the goal, drawing was not thought of as at all a necessary adjunct to his accomplishments, with the result that he was

placed in the awkward predicament of having practically no knowledge of the mensuration of surfaces, and no sleight-of-hand to embody the contour of a district on a map.

"Surveying," he wrote, "is really too dreadful! Fancy having to make a map of a large piece of ground in which you must put not only all the hills but the exact slope of the hills, which varies perhaps every ten or twenty yards. It must be done, however, somehow."

By persevering, it became "a little less difficult," and in this as in other branches of study he passed through Sandhurst with distinction and received a commission in the Scots Guards. This regiment, however, did not realise his ideal; it was not exhilarating enough. It may be that he recalled the fact that his great ancestor. the first Earl of Airlie, had in his day been a distinguished leader of cavalry, and that the hero of his House, the second Earl, was an illustrious member of this arm of the Service. Be that as it may, after a year in the Scots Guards he exchanged for a cavalry regiment, choosing the 10th Hussars, in which a particular friend of his held a commission. He joined the depôt at Canterbury, where he had an experience which he was wont to relate to the amusement of the family. At the age of nineteen, as is not uncommon in the lusty days of early manhood. Lord Airlie had developed a considerable corpulency, being lavishly rounded with superfluous flesh, which he tried hard to diminish by abstaining from all fat-producing substances. But Nature usually takes her own course against all artifice and device. The riding-master, however, seemed possessed of the idea that he could counter Nature, and being an Irishman was confident in his powers. On being introduced to him and eyeing him all over, he said: "Oh! this is Lord Ogilvy-is it? We'll soon fine ye down, me boy!" And so he did, shedding the fat like leaves in autumn.

After entering the Army Lord Airlie imbibed the desire to see service in India—that region of wild imagination, impassioned romance, and unbridled

chivalry; and while this objective was one reason for exchanging to the 10th Hussars, there was, besides his almost insatiable craving for novelty, to see all that was to be seen and extend his geographical acquaintance, the fact that his principal friend at Sandhurst being already there gave wings to his desire to visit the great Dependency of the Empire. He sailed for India on his way to the "gorgeous East" on the 28th October, 1876. Just before the boat left Portsmouth he wrote to his mother: "It was sad parting this morning. Give my best love to Clementine." Lady Clementine, his senior by two years, had been the close companion of his early years, and to him a source of great merriment. Lively, frolicsome, and light of heart, "she was a lassie," as the author of "Rab and his Friends" once said to her mother, "who had said something of which she might be proud." "That was," the Countess of Airlie remarked, "because one day when I said to her, 'I am so tired—are you not tired, darling?' she answered, 'Tired! Oh no, not a bit. I have a box of laughter inside me, and the key that unlocks it is fun." In the Red Sea, he wrote: "On—on we go steadily, I can't believe sometimes that we have come so many miles, and I sit and wonder at the change that has come, as it were imperceptibly, in my life." Imperceptibly the change may have come, as such declensions generally do, but it was none the less real, and of a nature and character of which at this time he was not fully conscious, and might have been slow to admit. There was a change of tone, of temper, of spirit, of that devout reverence and deep regard for sacred things which had so characterised his boyhood and youth. The lofty idealism had faded somewhat. The ecstatic spiritual emotions which hitherto had so inspired him along "the narrow way which leadeth unto righteousness," though not dead, had become dull. The high sense of honour, the extreme respect for truth, the painful exactitude of professional duty, and the never-failing accompaniment of promise and performance, remained firm and lasting; but the delicately sensitive conscience which trembled at the

thought of being "led away into not talking as you would like and that sort of thing" had lost a good deal of its tenderness through contact with the laxity of Eastern habits and customs. In this there was nothing surprising, considering the temper of his mind, and that he was young, impulsive, full of animal spirit, and withal inexperienced. Like a young colt let loose in the field, in the free and light atmosphere of the Orient and with gay companions on easy terms with life, he thoroughly enjoyed himself, and found the day's good good enough for the day. But if the ways of pleasure supplanted the "ways of pleasantness," it was only temporary; a brief aberration from the high standard of his early youth; a case of "pleasure the servant, virtue looking on"; for he very soon picked up the threads of his former self, rediscovered his ideal, and, as will be seen, with redoubled force and accentuated fervour attained to heights of rectitude, integrity of character, and spirituality of mind which justify him being denominated in this history "the good Earl."

For five years he remained in India with the 10th Hussars. During this time his love for the Army deepened into an intense passion. The free, open-air life, the sharp discipline, the hard exercise, accorded with his nature, in youthful manhood so restless and active. The spirit of the Army was the breath of his life. A soldier "jealous in honour, sudden and quick in quarrel," was his ideal. No form of success to his mind could rival military achievement.

"I dined with the General last Saturday. He came and sat near me after dinner and was very civil. He has been abroad all his life and has got a lot of medals. Now I do like seeing a man with medals. If I was a woman, I should fall in love sooner with a breast covered with medals than with the handsomest face going."

A devotee to duty, he was whole-hearted in the Service, so much so that when on periodical leave he found it difficult to engage his mind and entertain his interest by other pursuits. Compared to Swivel, Kit Trevor's

servant, in "Tom Bulkeley," who was always at "attention," Lord Airlie once wrote:

"When I get leave I am rather like a loose troop horse who goes galloping about the ranks kicking and bucking, not quite wishing to be caught, but very unwilling to go any distance from the regiment."

As might be expected of so keen a horseman, he was devoted to the game of polo, and in this as in everything else on which he set his heart he was an enthusiast. As at Eton in the football-field, so now on the polo-ground at his regimental headquarters he frequently gave proof of his prowess in the game, and at the Inter-Regimental Tournaments he was always a conspicuous figure in the contests, being regarded as one of the best of his team. Apart from the physical exercise which the sport furnished, he delighted in it for the fine qualities which it engendered and the esprit de corps which it yielded to the spirit of the regiment. On the polo-ground at Lucknow, he built a well for the convenience and comfort of the players, which is known to this day as "David's Well," on which, to commemorate the benefaction, some of his friends have inscribed:

"A noble game we played of yore,
Perchance, my sons, ye play it still;
Perchance some thirty hoofs or more
E'en now the air with thunder fill.
Amen! yet if now David's well
No longer floods the thirsty ground;
Let thirsty souls, while drinking tell,
How 'tis that here a well is found."

Lord Airlie had his first taste of active service in Afghanistan in the campaign of 1878; but much to his disappointment, being junior subaltern, he, instead of reaching the fighting-line, as he was all too eager to do, was left in charge of the baggage. The sound of the guns irritated him, and it was no compensation for his safety that he saw the battle from a distance and could only look and listen. The following year, having completed four years' service abroad, he was granted six months' leave, when he returned to this country, spend-

ing his holiday partly in London, where his parents were in residence, and at Cortachy, which he visited with his father, staying for a short time at Easter. In the early summer of 1881 he returned to India, only to be recalled four months later by the sudden death of his father at Denver, in September of that year. Thus succeeding to the title and estates and the multifarious business connected therewith, Lord Airlie was perforce necessitated to remain in this country, and even persuaded to contemplate retiring from the Army in favour of the great landed interest which required his attention. Whether he entertained the proposal is a moot question; for while he remained over the succeeding winter and spring hunting with the Aylesbury pack, by early summer the lure of India and the attraction of the regiment regained the ascendant, and he returned to duty. But the glamour of his former experience had waned considerably. For one thing, he had gone back in a different frame of mind, his feathers somewhat ruffled; while, through having twice dislocated his collar-bone, he had thereby been incapacitated for his favourite game of polo. the state of his feelings and being deprived of a main source of pleasure in his former Indian life, while the gilt of novelty had gone, led him to feel anything but satisfied on the resumption of the old routine. Perhaps the knowledge, too, that fighting elsewhere was on foot made him discontented, or, at least, aggravated his dissatisfaction, and it will be safe to surmise that the rolling sound of battle would have accorded well with the temper of mind in which he then was. The alacrity with which he embraced the opportunity of engaging in active hostilities in a measure confirms this reading of the position. Egypt for some time had been in a state of unrest. sooner was one attempt of rebellion allayed than another was speedily hatched. Osman Digna, a troublesome factor in Egyptian politics, had taken the field, and had launched a direct and deliberate challenge to the governing power of Britain. While certain regiments were immediately despatched from England to the scene of hostilities, others on foreign service were recalled home, among these being the 10th Hussars. Lord Airlie, now Adjutant of the regiment, left in advance of the troops: but on arriving at Marseilles he received a telegram from his sister, Lady Blanche Hozier, to the effect that the troopship bearing his regiment had been stopped at Suakim and ordered to proceed to reinforce the army operating against Osman Digna; on receipt of which he at once bought a horse and boarded a steamer about to sail for Suakim. On reaching this port, so eager was he to overtake the 10th Hussars and be in the fight with them, that he had his horse swum ashore and rowed there himself, where he immediately mounted and rode in the track of the regiment. By the time he arrived he was chagrined to learn that the Battle of El Teb was fought, and, still more galling, that the 10th Hussars had made a gallant charge and he was not there to share the glory. He remained, however, with his regiment throughout the subsequent campaign, and was in the fight at Tamai -his first actual experience of the shock of war. Two years later, in 1884, when the Soudan War broke out, Lord Airlie was quartered with his regiment at Shorncliffe, and as there was no immediate prospect of it being sent on active service, like so many others in the buoyancy of vigorous manhood and of combative mood, he secured the permission of his Colonel to volunteer for an appointment. He was keen to serve his country. After India, regimental life in England was stale. Besides, after five years in the East, the climatic conditions of these islands in early winter, with the raw damp winds penetrating the pores, he felt severely, and was anxious to exchange them for the more salubrious climate of Egypt, which he had found suited him. He little knew what was in front of him. A soldier up to the hilt, eager to be in the fray, to whom the clash of arms was like the swelling notes of a great organ in some majestic symphony, the lust of battle was strong within him. Restless, impulsive, strong of mind and sinew, action was the spirit of his life, and he longed to prove his courage:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Seeking the bubble reputation Even in the cannon's mouth."

But another kind of warfare was in store for him, the nature of which was very different to what he so ardently sought. It will be noted presently; but the permanent effect upon his character was far-reaching, transforming the whole spirit and outlook of his life. Meanwhile, being led, "like the blind, by a way that he knew not," he searched every avenue of influence if by any chance he might reach the scene of action. At length, his importunity was rewarded by being appointed Brigade-Major to Sir Herbert Stewart. In a letter to his mother he wrote:

"Handak, November 27th, 1884.

Arrived here the day before yesterday. Such a lovely camp on the river in a gorgeous fairy grove of lovely palms. Don't you sometimes wish to see fairies, and sometimes wish in a pretty place to have the power for one or two days to live and do nothing but drink in the pleasure of the place through every grove and to feel that there is no suffering, nothing wrong in the world beyond?"

On the eve of moving to Ambukul a fortnight later he expressed the hope that there would be "fighting, but one feels that the Mahdi will melt away as we come up with our big men and thousands of camels and breechloaders"; and, growing enthusiastic, goes on:

"Isn't it a grand force Stewart commands. Four regiments of picked men on camels, and the 19th Hussars! What a force! It is a great experience even if we don't fight, and I am very grateful for being here. But I do so hope we do have to fight.... I would give a great deal to be certain of a real big fight. I have got a sort of passionate longing for that. Of course, one always thinks one is bullet proof; but one must wish to fight if one is a soldier."

A month later he got his heart's desire—"a real big fight." At Abu Klea the British forces came into touch with the army of the Mahdi, and a hot engagement ensued. It was the sternest struggle he had yet faced, the reckless fanaticism of the Dervish warrior being not a little disconcerting to the staid courage of disciplined troops. In the heart of it, Lord Airlie was wounded, a

spear piercing his hand. Though not serious, it proved to be troublesome, but this did not deter him from following the fight. Two days later he rejoined the ranks and took part in the Battle of Gubat, where he was struck by a spent bullet on the ear. In the heat of the moment he picked up an enemy spear and continued the attack till darkness spread a dense curtain between the combatants.

At Gubat Lord Airlie was greatly distressed. News had just reached the camp that the objective of these military measures had failed. On this subject Lord Wolseley has recorded his views, which reflect seriously on the civil authority:

"I am so disgusted with the policy adopted by the Government in this Soudan business, that I hate to think of the future. I have been made such a fool of by Gladstone and Company that I am ashamed to look even the donkeyboys of Cairo in the face."

But the following from Lord Airlie will be of interest in recalling the brave attempt to relieve General Gordon at Khartoum. Sir Charles Wilson had gone with a relieving force up the Nile, but had been wrecked; on the news of which reaching headquarters, Sir Charles Beresford set out on a voyage of rescue.

"EL GUBAT, February 5th, 1885.

We have had some anxious days. C. Beresford left on Saturday at 2 PM in one of the steamers to go and rescue Sir C. Wilson, who had been wrecked some 30 miles from here. The steamer returned last night (Wednesday) indeed only by the mercy of God, after having had a very hot time of it. However, of all this you will have read graphic descriptions in the papers. As the sun went down in the West the steamer steamed past with four boats in tow. Never did lover watch the approach of a boat bearing his mistress with more anxiety than I watched the steamer. Well, our people were saved after very hard fighting. But we hear certain news of Gordon's death and the capture of Khartoum. It is too sad, and we are, of course, in rather low spirits. I hope you have not been anxious. Where God has willed it, there one must

die; and what is the difference between a railway accident, or a spill out hunting, a bullet or a nigger's spear. God bless you all and a bientot."

Lord Airlie always looked back upon this Nile campaign as a great experience fraught with a spiritual influence that pervaded his whole after-life. For him the trackless desert had an awesome feeling; its perils, like "the always-wind-obeying-deep," awoke within him serious reflections. "I hate the desert," he wrote, "and the fear it can inspire in men's hearts." Others who have traversed that wild romantic country have had a similar impression. It is not the flat expanse of sand that many suppose it to be; it is far more wild and aweinspiring: a region of tortuous rocks and ridges, shady nooks and treacherous ravines, where the eye, wandering at will, can see nothing but bright and solemn heights of variegated form and colour. Everything testifies of vastness and of utter desolation. In the dense blackness of Egyptian night, or still more when the ghostlike shadows float in the moonlight, the mind is aghast at the weird feeling it inspires. In raptures over the Nile, which "reminds me of the dear Scotch rivers, only the water is the most glorious blue—to look at this colour makes one think of ideal love, of balmy happy rest. And then you look away from the river, and there is the cruel desert." He was deeply impressed by its arid wastes, its awful loneliness, its lurid vistas. its parching effect. "I have never once suffered from thirst myself," he wrote to his mother; "but" (referring to some of the men), "I have seen them thirsty, very, and I don't like it. It was cruel, the greedy look of a man as he carried off his ration of water;" and he added: "I pray that if I die in this country I may die near the river." Lord Airlie's mind had come against the stern realities of life and death in this desert campaign in a manner and to a degree as he had never before faced them. Susceptible to impression and serious-minded, disposed to reflection, and withal reverential and respectful to things sacred, he realised intensely the deep responsibility of life, its moral obligations, its spiritual

nature and destiny, and, ever conscientious and thorough, like Jacob at Bethel he awoke from the fear that beset him to the discovery that "the Lord is in this place; and I knew it not." He had learned the great lesson of his life, and his whole career afterwards bore traces of his wrestling with the angel of terror; for he lived, like the Christian warrior that he was,

"One eye on death, and one full-fix'd on heaven."

When the campaign was over, instead of returning with the forces, to the surprise of his friends he expressed the desire to remain for a time in the country. He was reluctant to leave the scene of his new-found joy; and even long years after, like the patriarch, his mind frequently travelled back to the Nile as to the place of his enlightenment. Lord Airlie took over the charge of a depôt for sick camels. This was no quixotic scheme, as he had an inordinate love of animals. His horse was a friend, spoken of with affection and treated with tenderness. There is a happy illustration of this in his early years. When a boy of thirteen at Eton, on hearing that a favourite horse at Cortachy was to be destroyed, he was greatly distressed, and wrote to his father:

"Poor Theodore! is he really to die? I am so unhappy about him. He is so beautiful, and so high-spirited, and at the same time so quiet. He, at any rate, is a real Cour de lion. Is there no plea on which he may live—to pull the Bathchair, or carry Grizel?"

At Abou Fatmeh he lived in blissful content, perfectly happy in the humane work of nursing the wounded animals back to health, when he returned about midsummer to England, and thereafter to Cortachy Castle.

On attaining his majority in 1877, his mother had approached him on the subject of marriage. The heir to the honours, it was a matter of considerable concern for the succession, as, apart from his brother Lyulph, the next of kin were in no way desirable as representatives of the honourable traditions of the House of Airlie. It was natural, therefore, that Lord Airlie should be

reminded of his duty to his family. He was in India at the time, in the full flush of its novelty and gorged with its wonders and delights. Enjoying his freedom, he seemed to have no immediate desire to restrict it by the bonds of wedlock. In an unamiable mood not uncommon at his years, he was critical of womankind:

"I was talking to Mess Moonshee (interpreter and clerk) last night about women. 'No, my Lord,' said he, 'we do not teach our women to write, for they might get above themselves—you do not treat women properly; for you are their servants, not they yours.' I call this a capital moral for English women. If they try and make themselves into 'inferior men' they must give up the rights granted them solely by courtesy."

Blanche, Countess of Airlie, would hardly find in this temper of mind a favourable soil in which to sow the seed of matrimony; nor was it better prepared for her next overture on the subject, if we may judge by his letter:

"You talk about my wife. You will be difficult to please. By the by, I shouldn't wonder if I was to marry a Mohammedan. I have been talking to Musselmen about their religion and I really can't see any important differences between them and Christians. They believe in God exactly as we do."

Lord Airlie had travelled a long way since then. Approaching his thirtieth year and taking a serious view of life and the perspective of things, he had improved his attitude on the subjects of comparative religion and the honourable estate of matrimony. He would not have been an Ogilvy had it been otherwise. Bachelor life has received scant courtesy from his race, only one member of the family in its long history having elected to remain single—a record that must be almost unique. But on approaching the question of marriage, one matter weighed seriously with the Earl of Airlie. Wedded to the Army, he was not prepared to forgo his ardent attachment to his profession:

"If I had to give up what I wish my life to be for the sake of my wife I should be content. My ideas on that subject are vol. II

very strong and I think you agree with me. I think a man ought not to give up his life when he marries, if he can fairly stick to it without hurting his wife."

His wife, if she would be a helpmate and in tune with him, must be the wife of a soldier, and fortunately for him he met his counterpart. A young lady of high degree had in the season of 1885 made her debut in London society. The belle of that year's Court, she had the reputation of being as good as she was beautiful. Brought up in a strictly evangelical home, under the careful tuition of the best of fathers, Mabell, eldest daughter of Arthur, fifth Earl of Arran, and Edith, younger daughter of Robert, Viscount Jocelyn, eldest son of the third Earl of Roden, besides her long pedigree and stately figure, had other accomplishments of a still more ornate description in the shape of a wellbalanced mind, a serious piety, and, being Irish, an exquisite fund of humour. Just the type of person to match with Lord Airlie in his then lugubrious mood of solemn earnestness and imperious sense of duty. In religious sympathy with him, she had the charm of a bright and cheerful nature, redolent with poetic fervour and the ecstasies of youth. Ten years his junior, she came to exert a great influence over him, consolidating his religious views, toning down the sharp asperity of his nature, ever prone to pugnacity, and, sharing his professional life in barracks, camp, and field, kept him in touch with the domestic atmosphere of the family. making her home wherever duty called him. On both sides of her House, Lady Mabell Frances Elizabeth Gore. who was married to the Earl of Airlie on 19th January. 1886, though of Irish extraction, comes of an ancient English stock with a flavour of Scottish blood; her grandmother, Elizabeth Marianne, second daughter of General Sir William Napier, author of the "History of the Peninsular War," being the granddaughter of Lady Sarah Lennox, fourth daughter of the second Duke of Richmond and Lennox-now Richmond and Gordon. General Gore, an Alderman of the City of London in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, had four sons, who in their



MABELL, COUNTESS OF AIRLIE.

respective spheres were equally distinguished, the youngest of whom, Paul Gore, Captain of a troop of horse, went to Ireland with his regiment, where, obtaining large grants of land, which he designated Manor-Gore, he settled; and on 2nd February, 1621, was created a Baronet by James I. His grandson, Sir Arthur Gore, on 12th April, 1762, was raised to the Peerage with the title Earl of Arran of the Arran Islands, County Galway. On her mother's side, the Countess of Airlie is descended from the ancient race of Jocelyn of High Roding, Essex, who flourished in the reign of King John, and who, like the Gores, migrated to Ireland, where the first Viscount Jocelyn was Lord High Chancellor of Ireland in 1739, and whose son, Robert, on 9th September, 1771, was created first Earl of Roden, of High Roding, County Tipperary. Edith, Countess of Arran, granddaughter of the third and sister of the fourth Earl of Roden, was married on 21st February, 1865, to the Earl of Arran, and died at Basle on 3rd October, 1871. Her mother, Lady Frances Elizabeth Cowper. was the second daughter of Peter Leopold, fifth Earl of Cowper, a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, whose wife. Amelia. daughter of the first Viscount Melbourne. Prime Minister to Queen Victoria, was one of the most remarkable and beautiful women of her day, whose second husband was the illustrious statesman and Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston. Lord Arran, a fine type of physical manhood, of wide culture, remarkable for his excellence of character, refined virtue, and noble integrity, devoted himself absolutely to the nurture and education of his children; identifying himself with them and adapting himself to their growing intelligence. Deeply relgious with the high evangelical spirit of faith, while he saw that they were carefully grounded in the stable elements of knowledge and instructed in the higher branches of learning, he had particular regard to their training in the principles of religion, and to their initiation into religious literature. The result of this paternal supervision and influence may be seen in the character and tastes of the Countess of Airlie, who, with her sisters, the Marchioness of Salisbury and Viscountess Hambleden, reflect the spirit in which they were so patiently nurtured. The Earl of Airlie, then on the wings of spiritual ecstasy, found in her an echo of his own aspirations. Of energetic character, conscientious, reverential, inspired by a noble spirit, whose actions were governed by rectitude and the law of whose life was a deep sense of duty; loving glory, it is true, but scorning shame; painful in his veracity and always easily touched on the side of his honour-what Wordsworth's sister Dorothy was to him, moulding his nature by the tenderness and sweetness of her chaste and reverent thought, that Lord Airlie was not slow to confess, as the people about Cortachy were quick to discern, was the influence which his wife exerted upon him. A strong man, rejoicing in his strength, he was at once fortified and chastened in his pursuit of higher things by Lady Airlie's influence. In the circumstances it is a delicate matter; but although there is a necessary restraint, yet, as it is within the knowledge of all who knew him then, it may be frankly stated that she had the credit in a large measure of deepening his impressions and opening his mind to the finer attributes of life: and, had he been alive, he would have been the first to admit-

> "She gave me eyes, she gave me ears, And humble cares, and delicate fears; A heart, the fountain of sweet tears, And love, and thought, and joy."

The year after his marriage, Lord Airlie was one of a detachment of British officers appointed to represent the Army at the Italian Manœuvres in the autumn of 1887. His conduct on the occasion was typical of the spirit of thoroughness which he brought to bear on all his occupations and work. Every duty, however trivial, was a task conscientiously performed according to the measure of his light and up to the limit of his strength and ability. If the task was beyond his capacity he did not thereupon shirk it, but immediately prepared him-

self to cope with it; and in this respect the natural pugnacity of his temperament became a saving grace; for, instead of flinching in front of a difficulty, he braced himself to meet it. While he knew a little Latin and Greek, and was fairly conversant with French, he was ignorant of Italian. But, characteristic of him in all his motions, on learning of his appointment he immediately retired to Cortachy, having previously engaged an Italian courier, and there for six weeks studied assiduously the language of Italy, the better to equip himself for his military mission. This was the temper of mind in which Lord Airlie approached every situation he was called upon to face. Whatever it might be, or however strenuous the demand on his energy or the strain upon his faculties, no sacrifice was too great, no effort too exasperating, to give of his best and to do his duty to the utmost of his power. He was painfully conscientious, excessively scrupulous, ever introspective of his diligence, and fearful of not accomplishing in the highest degree what was within the range of possibility. Although not brilliant and by no means a genius in the art of strategy, quick to perceive the salient points of a situation and instantly adapt his action to take advantage of them, of which he was deeply sensibleperhaps over-sensitive—he had yet that dogged tenacity of purpose, that plodding determination to overtake, if laboriously, the task that was allotted to him at all cost, and sacrifice, and hazard—qualities in themselves of a high order, trustworthy, reliable, and in the end usually successful. This sincerity and persevering spirit, however, were a frequent source of vexation to Lord Airlie. Because he kept before him such a high ideal of service, in a measure transcending his capabilities, combined with a delicately sensitive conscience and a modest appreciation of his powers-not infrequently by himself undervalued—the least flaw worried him, the slightest mistake was an affliction. He aimed at perfection, and short of it he was dissatisfied. trait of his character may be seen in a letter which he wrote after the manœuvres at Kilkenny in 1896:

"Enjoyed the march much and am full of 'beans' and hope. A poor performer, I am afraid, but I hope I shall be helped. Pray that I may run a little above correct form and be helped to accept everything always humbly."

There it is-"above correct form"! This was his spirit; the aim, the object, and the ambition of his life. Not merely to do his duty in the customary manner to the best of his ability; but to excel in the performance and to transcend the ordinary was his ideal. Collingwood's advice to a midshipman—"Let it be the ambition of vour life to be foremost in all duty "-was his motto, the guiding star of all his actions. For him to be successful was to be victorious, and short of victory he was inclined to think he had failed; whereas had he been a philosopher as he was a plain, blunt soldier, disregarding the effort and thinking only of the achievement, he might have known that frequently, in every walk of life, humble, honest, manful, and conscientious endeavour may be of far greater consequence than actual success. But "above correct form" was Lord Airlie's ideal, and victory his only satisfaction.

"All was well today, still the 14th scored, capturing two guns. Not our fault, I think,—still they scored. By Jove, how keen these fellows are! 'Maudie' quite sick because we had not had a glorious victory. I am so grateful to have 'got through' so far. Well, it is over, and I think I may say it is well over. Very humbly thankful I am, for, with no false modesty, I say that I am a poor performer, but God has helped me. I know he has."

With the ambition to excel while distrustful of his powers, it was yet characteristic of his indomitable spirit that he allowed no opportunity to pass of improving himself and augmenting his accomplishments and usefulness. Every avenue which might contribute to his knowledge or by which he might gain experience he zealously explored. A more capable soldier than he knew or would confess, this modesty of merit and depreciation of his true worth were at once the source of his efficiency and the desire to perfect his acquirements. He was ever on the outlook to learn, ever

anxious to discover the best methods, the up-to-date procedure, the latest theory of strategy, or the most approved mode of attack. He acted on the favourite maxim of Lacépède, the naturalist: "Vivre c'est veiller." Thus the better to equip himself as a cavalry officer, he was accustomed in his periods of leisure to take long rides in the country, starting at eight in the morning, map in hand, and, with an imaginary enemy in front of him, would make wide, flanking movements, thereby acquainting himself with, and quickening his aptitude in, topographical study; taking note all the time of the variegated landscape, its points of advantage and its possible pitfalls. With the view of keeping himself in constant trim and perfecting himself in horsemanship, while he lost no chance of following the hunt, in addition, wherever he was stationed, he usually rented a field, had hurdles erected, and there daily with the more enthusiastic of his fellow-officers carried out a series of hard, sometimes foolhardy, exercises. Besides giving close study to the prescribed textbooks and working out in diagram the evolutions of the field as he would a game of chess, he took advantage of all the Army manœuvres within his reach, either as spectator or participant, that he might thereby learn something and advance his efficiency. The responsibility of leading men into the zone of battle weighed upon him, and he realised it to be his duty to them and obligatory on himself to be capable to the last degree, and to know every turn and venture in the exigencies and serious struggles of actual warfare.

Perhaps the most interesting period of the Earl of Airlie's life was the four years he spent at Winchester, where he went to reside, in 1889, on his appointment as Adjutant of the Hampshire Carabineers Yeomanry. An engagement not altogether to his liking or agreeable to his taste, or in line with his ambition in the Service, he yet brought to bear upon it, notwithstanding adverse circumstances, all that enthusiasm so characteristic of all his employments. It was not his fault that the organisation was not a greater success than it proved.

A Volunteer movement, it was a mixed combination of divergent motive, in many cases animated by a spectacular spirit with little zest for the actual purpose for which it was formed. It required, as we have seen. a great war with the existence of the Empire at stake to quicken the populace into a real sense of duty and to take up arms in sober earnestness. But as things were then in the Volunteer Force, soldiering was regarded in the light of a picnic taken with the dignity of armorial display and with fluctuating interest. To one of Lord Airlie's temperament, serious in everything to which he put his hand, it was galling in the extreme to face lukewarmness and indifference, as he had frequently to do. Punctual and enthusiastic himself, always the first at the post of duty come what may, happen what might, whatever the nature of the weather or the condition of the elements, it was grievously disappointing to him on occasion to encounter dilatoriness or half-hearted service. The Yeomen played at soldiering, most of them -turned out when they were in the mood, absented themselves when the weather was either too cold or too hot, and this being altogether contrary to his sense of duty and to what he conceived to be the spirit that should animate every arm of the Service, Lord Airlie was keenly disappointed, and wrote:

"I am sorry people are so afraid of the Army. Poor Army! Why should the grandest profession in the world be looked down upon?"

This experience at Winchester led him later, when questions of reform in the Army came sharply to the surface, to write an article in the *Nineteenth Century* on the subject, in which he set out to answer the question, "Is our Yeomanry worth preserving?" A few years earlier he had agitated other matters relating to the forces, giving his views on what he considered necessary improvements in the Army generally, as in 1883, when he wrote on "The Uniform and Equipment of the British Army"—an informative article showing that Lord Airlie had studied closely not only what was being effected on

the Continent but was alive to the corresponding requirements in the home forces. Again, in 1885, bearing on cavalry in particular, he wrote a trenchant criticism of this arm of the Service under the title "Sword and Lance," in which he showed how narrowly he had observed the various manœuvres he so diligently attended, and how carefully he had studied the actions in the field, and how quick he was to see where and how improvement might be made. These articles prove how capable he was as a soldier, how keenly he noted what was passing in the military circles of Europe, and how alert he was to the need of placing the British Army on a thoroughly efficient basis with up-to-date equipment. Besides these contributions, it was disclosed after his death that he was a friendly critic in the pages of Truth, urging upon the authorities reforms in the Army which he deemed absolutely necessary, many of which he had the satisfaction of seeing adopted, while others, under the stress of the Great War, were forced upon them. But in respect to the Yeomanry, as may be gathered from Lord Airlie's spirit of thoroughness, it was only worth preserving if it were made efficient. perfect himself in his profession was not only considered to be his solemn duty but was made the ambition of his life, to attain which all his pleasures were contributory agents, whether in the hunting-field, when he rode in the full tide of the spirit of a cavalry charge, determined at all hazard to "get home"; or in his serious studies, when he read everything that was relative to the use of arms; or in the ordinary drill or the Army manœuvres, when he strained every nerve to accomplish the best that was in him; oftentimes far better than he could bring himself to admit—so exalted was his ideal. Efficiency was the watchword of his life in everything. "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might," was the keynote of his character and work.

At Winchester he had periods of leisure which, in the absence of military duty, afforded ample scope for his energies in other directions. These labours are still fragrant memories in the cathedral town of Hampshire,

where, as a memorial of his many good works, a street has been named after him. The religious feeling which he had contracted, and which gave to his otherwise serious frame of mind a spiritual outlook, had, from being a pleasant emotion, developed into a deep sense of Christian duty of a twofold character: a careful scrutiny of the temper of his own mind, his thoughts, desires, attitude, motive, aspiration, and general ideal: and, on the other hand, the consciousness of his responsibility to help, and guide, and strengthen others in the way of the Divine life. So far as concerned himself, that thoroughness which he brought to bear on his secular profession he exercised on his own life and character: the strict discipline of the soldier was as exacting and punctilious on his own disposition, and on what he conceived was required of him as a sincere Christian. As in the regiment he kept a watchful eye on all that appertained to its welfare and efficiency, so in respect to his own motions he subjected himself to a vigilant self-inspection with scrupulous regard for the consistency of his walk and conversation; and as in the streets of Dresden on meeting Saxon officers he squared himself up "as if measuring himself against them," so now he would calmly consider his conduct in the light of his Christian ideal. This was high, and he did his best to attain it. "I am a weak struggler, I am afraid, but still a struggler; and, please God, all of us who struggle shall win in the end." A true reflection of the temper of his mind at this time and the spirit in which he lived is conveyed in a letter he wrote to Lady Airlie from Berkshire, where he attended the manœuvres in 1890:

"I know that in this world one must take things as they are, and that the inexplicable relations of natures to each other must be left in God's keeping, and that He will, when He sees fit, open our eyes that we may have such charity in our souls that all our differences with others shall be swept away by His great love encompassing us and increasing our love to all with whom we have to do."

This was how the Earl of Airlie looked upon life and all its associations. The Christian ideal coloured his

outlook and tempered the spirit of his mind. Everything was made subject to the law of Christ. Through the mirror of the Christian faith he viewed himself, his actions, his motives, his aspirations, his conduct, his opportunities and sense of duty; and as in his military profession, so also in his personal life the same thoroughness was brought to bear in scrutiny and endeavour.

"If we could only be less material, and more really bound up in good things, I suppose we should never think of coarse things."

A sound principle of Christian ethics, in line with the Pauline doctrine of bringing the flesh under subjection to the spirit; or the other direction given, of becoming "less material" by setting the affections on spiritual things. Lord Airlie was now fairly launched on his "Pilgrim's Progress," and he never looked back. As the Countess of Airlie has recorded in her memoir of him, which she calls "The Happy Warrior"—a graceful tribute to an estimable husband—he did many good works at Winchester of every sort and kind, visiting the poor in their homes and talking to them unaffectedly, and helping them when he was persuaded there was need; while on the Sunday afternoons during the greater part of his residence there he visited periodically the "Home for the Aged Poor," the Workhouse, and several old people; read portions of Scripture to them, spoke comfortingly to them, and frequently prayed with them. All charitable institutions and every Christian agency found in him a ready and willing helper, the Salvation Army especially coming in for his approval and benefiting in large measures by his support on several occasions: its military conception pleased him, its aggressive spirit touched his sympathies. Lord Airlie was a great power for good throughout the district, and exercised a profound influence over young men with whom he sought contact, and over whom he cast the spell of his benign character. On leaving Winchester, in 1893, to rejoin the 10th Hussars, then stationed at Cahir, in Ireland,

the following letter was conveyed to him by a clergyman of the town:

"I can only thank you in the Lord's name for all the sympathy you have given to us, and for the many expressions of it to our poor and distressed ones. But above all, I thank God that you have made it easier for our young men to take a higher standard, by carrying the law and the spirit of Christ into your many activities. I am not speaking from hearsay, but I know young men who have been helped by your obedience to the law of God."

The Earl of Airlie, who succeeded to the title and estates on the death of his father in 1881, though he followed his profession closely, did not on that account lose touch with his widely scattered property. Although he only resided at Cortachy Castle during his annual leave of two or three months, he was yet fully conversant with every business transaction that occurred in estate affairs, and never allowed the least detail of the management to escape him. On all matters he was consulted, and he examined with care every proposition, while he subjected to careful scrutiny the factorial accounts, nothing doubtful or obscure being passed without explanation. He very wisely, too, as the event proved, on these occasions called Lady Airlie into his counsels, discussed all matters of administration with her, reviewed with her the quarterly statements, so that should necessity arise she might be equipped for the responsibility that would fall upon her; and this forethought and the experience she derived in a measure accounts for that aptitude for business she so quickly discovered when the time came, and which took most people by surprise. But during his holiday, which he invariably spent at Cortachy, Lord Airlie made the most of it. Methodically, he rode over the estates, visiting not only his tenantry but every cottar-house. After an early breakfast he set out on horseback, his luncheon in his pocket, consisting of a few sandwiches and a couple of hard-boiled eggs, with a glass of milk by the way, when he spent the day inspecting the farm buildings, noting what was required and what had been done, con-

versing with the farmers on the season, the crops, and prices, and returning to the Castle after almost a round of the clock. It is questionable if there was a landlord in the county of Forfar, resident throughout the year, who knew his estates and the people who lived on them half so well as Lord Airlie did. As in everything else, so in the management of his estates and his relations to the people he was very conscientious, and deeply sensible of his duty and responsibility. The estate of Cluny-which came into the Airlie family in 1723, through the marriage of John, fourth Earl of Airlie, with the heiress of Cluny, the leading cadet family of the Ogilvys of Airlie -lay far apart from the Airlie estates, being situated in eastern Perthshire, near Dunkeld. Realising that absentee landlordism was not good for the country, and that the ancient Castle was neither habitable nor capable of restoration, he considered it his duty to make way for a resident proprietor. In 1892 he sold the property, to the great regret of the tenantry. Entertaining them to dinner on the occasion, in what was the dining-room of the old Lairds of Cluny, he gave his reasons for selling-that, inasmuch as he lived so far away, and that there was no house he could live in for even a short period (the Castle, while it gave room for a banquet in favourable weather, could not provide a bed for the Laird and Lady), he could not do real justice either to them or the property. It was a touching farewell scene, as the Earl and Countess of Airlie, dressed in Ogilvy tartan, were rowed across the loch from the Castle to the shore in a late autumn evening as the sun went down, the pipers playing and the large company singing, "Will ye no come back again?" A considerate landlord, his policy was a fair rent and a good tenant; putting into practice the advice of the fifth Lord Ogilvy: "Be favourable to your tenants."

In the matter of religion Lord Airlie was singularly free from ecclesiastical bias or prejudice. He did not greatly concern himself about doctrine any more than he was enamoured of prescribed ritual. Apostolic succession did not trouble him; validity of orders did not

come within the purview of his outlook on religion. To him Christianity was far more than a code of beliefs or a system of doctrine; it was an ideal, a spirit of life, a state of piety. Goodness, uprightness, integrity of character; the pure heart, the reverent mind, the Christlike disposition which rejoiced in doing good, promoting righteousness, elevating the thought and the desires, the passions and the will, to the measure of the stature of Christ—this was the substance of his faith, this was "pure religion and undefiled." He was thus in a wonderful degree tolerant in his attitude and attachment to religious forms; the mere embroideries did not affect him much; he was concerned about the spirit of worship. indifferent to such sectional controversies as are represented in the ancient posture of Mount Gerizim and Jerusalem. Though a communicant of the Church of England, he followed the tradition of his House, and worshipped while at Cortachy in the parish church with his own people. A strict Sabbatarian, all unnecessary work was dispensed with at the Castle on Sunday. Wet or dry, coarse or fine, he was in the family pew, a devout worshipper; and, saving illness, he insisted on his retainers following his example. Many are the stories told of him how, looking over the congregation, he would note the absentees, and, after luncheon, set off on a round of visits, inquiring the reason of their absence; so that many who were but casual worshippers discovered that it was easier to attend church than to find a satisfactory excuse for not being present. -

One feature of Lord Airlie's holiday visits to the Castle which aroused great interest in the surrounding district was the "Cortachy Gathering," or sports. An open-air man himself, habituated to physical exercise, which, however busily occupied, he did not forgo, he encouraged all manly and legitimate sport in others, having a strong belief in the Latin adage, Mens sana in corpore sano. To this end he was wont to organise boxing-matches for the men of his regiment, and to give prizes for skill in the use of arms. As the people generally did not share his love of the Army, and often

expressed the wish that he would retire from the service and live amongst them, Lord Airlie on several occasions, to give them a taste of the spirit that was such an attraction to him and that they might better understand the chivalry of the solider's life, held military tournaments which afforded spectacular displays of feats in horsemanship and dexterity in arms. These were richly enjoyed by the great crowd that flocked to the Castle Park, but whether they compensated for the intermittent visits of his lordship and family is a moot question.

Although Lord Airlie was wont to speak of his stay at Winchester as "my four years in exile," he yet looked back upon it as the happiest period of his life. While the comparative leisure he enjoyed was turned to good account, it was there that he first experienced the charms of family life. By this time three daughters were born to him, but when the full tale came to be recorded, the whole family consisted, as his great-grandmother wrote of the Arbuthnotts, of "six healthy children, three of each kind," the girls, however, persisting, as they still persist, in pushing to the front, as if it were a settled tradition of the House:

Kitty Edith Blanche, who was born on 5th February, 1887:

Helen Alice Wellington, who was born on 21st November, 1890:

Mabell Griselda Esther Sudley, who was born on 22nd January, 1892.

With joy Lord Airlie returned to the Regular Army and to his old regiment, the 10th Hussars, in 1893; one of his friends describing it as his "return to the fold." He was stationed in Ireland, at Cahir, where he revived many old friendships of the Indian days and soon fell into the swing of the Army life with his former zest and spirit, pursuing the accompanying recreations of polo and hunting, though concerning the latter not without many twinges of conscience. Rapacious as Reynard is among the flocks of the hills or the poultry-yard of the farm, usually gaining by the cunning of his address

what is denied to his strength and courage, Lord Airlie. taking every exercise and pleasure in a serious mood. solemnly debated with himself the propriety or legitimacy of pursuing his sporting proclivities at the cost of suffering to the least of God's creatures. Although he enjoyed the hunt immensely and found it not only exhilarating but conducive to bodily health and vigour, giving him as a cavalry officer the opportunity of developing his skill in horsemanship and strengthening his eye for country, it was only after long deliberation and arguing the question that he could reconcile himself to it as harmless. As well might he have objected to the shooting of grouse or other feathered tribes, since it is known that if these denizens of the woods and the hills are not thinned out the ravages of disease will work infinitely greater slaughter. But his scruples show the temper of his mind and the singularly conscientious spirit in which he approached not only the duties but the pleasures of life. It was the persistent endeavour of his career "always to do that which is rightful."

After a year at Cahir he was transferred to Ballincollig, where he had command of the Cork squadron till May, 1895, when he moved to Newbridge, where he was stationed for the next eighteen months. During the latter period two matters began to weigh heavily on Lord Airlie's mind, both of which disconcerted him not a little. The four years at Winchester with the Hampshire Yeomanry—"a very happy time in our lives," as he wrote to the Countess of Airlie, "and may God make us happy always with that joy that nothing can change" -much as he enjoyed that period which, indeed, witnessed the making of him into that fine spirituality of character and keenly tempered chastity of mind that "endeared him to us all," he yet discovered that it had in a measure thrown him out of the running for promotion which otherwise he might have had the right to expect. Although far removed from the spirit of selfseeking, he had, as we have noted, a strong desire to excel in his profession, with the concomitant ambition to attain to a rank commensurate with his ability and

experience. As it was, at the age of forty and with twenty years' service to his credit, together with the fact that at the time he saw no immediate prospect of promotion in front of him, he seriously discussed the propriety, if not the duty, of relinquishing his commission and devoting himself to the administration of his estates. to which he was highly sensible that hitherto he had not given the attention that was required of him. This feeling of dissatisfaction was accentuated by the knowledge that for a considerable time he had laboured under the disability of defective evesight, and as he was much too candid not to appreciate the disqualifying effect upon a responsible command, he was on the eve of making a final decision, when fate supervened and decided other-In December, 1896, he was offered the post of second in command of the 2nd Dragoon Guards-the Queen's Bays-and coming as it did unsought, he was constrained to follow what thus seemed to be the line of duty. Early in the spring of 1897 Lord Airlie left Ireland to take up his new duties at Shorncliffe. He recrossed St. George's Channel a much richer man than when he first went to Ireland. In addition to three daughters, he had now three sons, so that his mind was at rest so far as the succession was concerned. He was top-heavy with delight, while the Castle flag floated at the mast and the bonfires blazed at midnight when a son and heir was born to him at Cahir, the sixteenth Lord Ogilvy and the twenty-fourth generation of the Ogilvys of Airlie:

David Lyulph Gore Wolseley, Lord Ogilvy, born at Cahir on 18th July, 1893:

Bruce Arthur Ashley, born at Cork on 15th March, 1895:

Patrick Julian Harry Stanley, born at Barrettstown House, Newbridge, on 26th June, 1896.

So, far we have discussed Lord Airlie as the zealous soldier devoted to his profession and ambitious to attain the best possible position in it. In the process his manly, Christian character, uprightness, integrity, deep

religious feeling, and constant endeavour to do "always that which is rightful," and to "fulfil," according to the measure of his light and to the height of his opportunity and power, "the law of Christ," have emerged, reflecting the spirit which he brought to bear on all the duties and the exigencies of his life. It will be disclosed presently that soldiering was with him no pastime profession, or merely a casual occupation to divert the mind and engage the brimming energies of a robust nature: but meanwhile, by way of variety and changeful interlude, though merely a by-product of his activities, a passing reference may be made to his general attitude on political subjects, and, in view of recent legislation on the Irish question, Home Rule in particular. Although his parents were of the Liberal Party, his mother especially, by temperament as well as by the traditions of her House, being decidedly Radical, Lord Airlie was distinctly Conservative. This exhibition of independence was not altogether agreeable to the mind of Blanche, Countess of Airlie, whose idea of parental authority was obedience in all things. She had apparently tried to shape her son's political framework after her own pattern, with doubtful results; and on engaging a tutor, she was careful to enlighten him at once on her political design for the heir of the House and the particular school of faith in which she desired that he should be instructed. But the tutor, after carefully reconnoitring the ground—perhaps testing the outworks—reported the inadvisability of pressing upon him a set of opinions to which by nature he was opposed, since "the pugnacious element in his character makes him fly in opposition if a thing is forced upon him"; adding the naïve query: "Is not this one of the explanations of his present Toryism?" It may have been; indeed, the likelihood is that his mother's attempt to press him into the mould of her own political creed only hastened his natural convictions, just as her zeal to interest him in architecture and artistic subjects, when he would have preferred a review of troops, so nauseated him that "he does not care a rush for Art and Churches." By constitution, and, notwithstanding the "sort of veneer" of Blanche, Countess of Airlie's influence, by inheritance a Conservative, Lord Airlie was all for progress and reform, as may be gathered from the several articles that he contributed and the general attitude that he adopted on political subjects. While he voted against Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill in the House of Lords in 1893, on the ground that he was opposed to that particular form of self-government for Ireland, inasmuch as it was unjust to Ulster loyalists, he was even then alive to the fact that a judicious settlement of the ancient. difference was desirable as it was inevitable, and although he felt "strongly on this question, and shall think that if Englishmen desert Irish landlords they are mean hounds," yet he recognised that the only solution was one in which party passion should be eliminated and the subject approached in a patriotic spirit:

"I am very anxious about this Home Rule business, but I don't think we must be down about it yet; for we have come to the turning point when whoever is in power must do something practical in the matter. I pray that the question may be fairly dealt with, and not sacrificed to that most Heathen, unreasonable, and selfish of pagan idols—Party."

And now we enter upon the last phase of Lord Airlie's career. When in March, 1897, he took up his new duties at Shorncliffe with the Queen's Bays, he was not altogether satisfied with his appointment, although it was promotion. The reason for this dissatisfaction was the very soldierly one that as the regiment had but recently returned from a term of foreign service, in the natural order of things, in the event of war, it would be the last to be called upon to take the field. And as matters were then shaping in the Soudan, this meant that he had no chance of being "with Kitchener to Khartoum"-a campaign in which he was very eager to take part, especially as he had been in the abortive effort to relieve Gordon. When fighting was on foot he felt that his duty was to be in the thick of it. A mere peace soldier was repugnant to his nature. The spectacular display of the regiment in the procession on the occasion of celebrating the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria that year, while he was rejoiced to hear that "nothing could beat the condition of the horses and turn-out of the Bays "-this was not sufficient compensation for being at home when he was desirous of going to the front. A soldier, devoted to his profession, he did not love war for its own sake, for the excitement, adventure, or exhibitantion that it vielded: but when it became inevitable either as a vindication of right or an instrument of civilisation, he was at the service of his country, whole-hearted and without reservation. By the end of 1897 Lord Airlie got his heart's desire. In December of that year he was gazetted Colonel of the 12th Lancers, an appointment that was at once agreeable to his ambition and an acknowledgment of his merits and accomplishments. Now that he was in command of a regiment noted for its capability as a fighting force and that stood high on the list for active service, he bent all his energies to thoroughly qualify himself for this responsible position. His eysight continuing to be troublesome, dimness of vision had led him into a false movement at the Cavalry Exercises on Salisbury Plain in the autumn of 1898, which, slight as it was. greatly disconcerted his feelings, ever acute to the least flaw in the performance of his duty. It affected him so seriously, as in his code of honour efficiency was synonymous with perfection, that he solemnly discussed in that spirit of self-distrust which was native to him, and of which he could never divest himself, the propriety of relinquishing his command:

"I am so afraid," he said, "I shall do harm to the dear Regiment some day by my want of eyesight:—I did badly second part yesterday; not so much in the eyes of the world, but I know I did. The eyes are poor things, and they take away one's confidence.—But I love the Regiment, and I am more jealous than I can say about its reputation."

Whether he should resign or remain depended on his eyesight, and to determine the point one way or the other, Lord Airlie went to Wiesbaden to consult Professor

Pagenstecher, the celebrated oculist, whose treatment after a period of six weeks was so effectual that he recovered completely the full strength of his eyes. The visit was made a holiday—the last happy time with his family, though he knew it not. The rumour of war was in the air; there was trouble impending in the Transvaal. The "sand-glass" speech of Mr. Chamberlain had been delivered in Birmingham. The Army was organising; Reserves were being called to the colours. On 20th August, 1899, when he returned to Aldershot, he learned that the 12th Lancers were under orders for South Africa. Henceforth, amidst the conflicting news of war one day and peace the next, all was rush and bustle, preparing for the worst, save for a brief and quiet visit to Cortachy Castle, which he left towards the end of September never to see again.

On the afternoon of 23rd October Lord Airlie sailed for Cape Town, where he arrived on 16th November following. From his letters to the Countess of Airlie during the voyage, like most people in this country at the time and to a great extent in the Army generally, he did not anticipate a prolonged struggle, even expressing himself as fearful that owing to two days' delay he may "have missed the battle of Pretoria." Ten days later he was at Arundel "observing the enemy." A brave soldier, intrepid, daring even to rashness—as he once said, "I don't like looking on, I want to do the thing myself"-it has been recorded of him by one of the 12th Lancers how "when he first came to Colesberg he would take two or three of his picked Lancers and ride straight through the enemy's lines, bringing back the most important information. I never knew he was gone till he came back." Of fear he knew nothing, save that of not doing his best. The posture of affairs is still fresh in the public mind-how the war that most people thought, when it began, would be over by Christmas, now assumed a more serious aspect, and Lord Roberts was despatched to the scene of hostilities as Commander-in-Chief. The relief of Kimberley was urgent. Cronje lay astride the Modder River, and to relieve the town a wide flanking movement was necessary. Klip Drift was held by a strong force, which stubbornly opposed the passage. "In the face of a most galling fire the 12th Lancers absolutely rushed the Drift, and Lord Airlie was certainly one of first three who got on the other bank." On a section of the cavalry becoming isolated, "it was only the intrepid dash of the 12th Lancers, led by Lord Airlie, which prevented the enemy getting round our left rear, and cutting off our water, for the river was absolutely denied to us."

"French came here this morning and sent for me," he wrote to Lady Airlie, on 24th February, 1900. "He was unstinted in his praise, and spoke in glowing terms of our dash in leading the way across the Modder River at Klip Drift. Thank God, I am so grateful; may all go well with us to the end with His help. That day all I did was to 'shove along' and all went well."

By this time the Countess of Airlie, like that romantic figure of the '45, had followed in the track of her husband, and was staying at Bloemfontein with Lady Roberts. Lord Airlie's reports to her of his movements are interesting reading, reflecting at once the keen military spirit in which he pursued his duty in the field and the chaste religious tone which flavoured all his actions. Space forbids their inclusion in bulk, but one or two samples may be given to show that the manner of the man whose acquaintance we have made ripened in character through coming into touch with the stern realities of war, and displayed an excellence of moral restraint and Christian virtue of incomparable grace:

"Strange campaign! purifier, I do hope and pray, of all our souls. Hard real lesson to the nation and the individual, whether here or at home, who thinks at all—the furnace out of which, please God, we may all come purified by His grace.
... Just had a nice little Church, and read about Isaac to the men, and Isaiah about Christ. How beautiful that chapter is."

"One must try to be brave and 'reach the goal of our high calling.' It is better to suffer and to learn—it is God's law. Remember that life ought to be full always and that one can

make it so, at least while strength is there. If there is no strength, then one must, I suppose, only pray for help to be resigned."

"I have had one great turning-point in my life—the Nile, 1885, and pray that Africa, 1900, may be another to lead nearer to the Golden Gates."

Alas! in less than two months he "entered through the Gates into the City." At Magersfontein, where he greatly distinguished himself, he seemed, as one said, to hear a charmed life. Hard pressed by the enemy, he dismounted two squadrons of the 12th Lancers and held the Boers in check for eight hours, till reinforcements brought relief. At a critical time of the battle the Brigadier, coming up, asked, "Where is Airlie?" "He is over there," said a Lancer, "in the hottest part of the fire with seven wounded men round him, as happy as a King." It was foolhardy, but he justified it on the ground, "I liked to prove that I was ready to go wherever I had to ask the men to go." He was not so fortunate at Winburg. On 4th May, 1900, the 12th Lancers were ordered to relieve a squadron of Royal Horse Guards, of which his brother-in-law, Viscount Sudley, was in command. Being under heavy fire, the order was countermanded temporarily, when Lord Airlie rode out from cover to inspect the situation and inquire if he would send a machine-gun. The offer being accepted, he dismounted to await its arrival, whereupon he was shot through the arm above the elbow. He thus recorded in his diary:

"The wound was slight, but the bullet (Mauser) was most busy with my belongings. Having passed through my arm, it then damaged two note-books, and ruined my cigarette case and cigarettes; it cut away my whistle, made two holes in my coat, tore my shirt and grazed my chest."

Hors de combat, he persisted in remaining at his post till the doctor advised him to fall out, when reluctantly he returned to Bloemfontein for treatment. There he found the Countess of Airlie, and for the next three weeks they were together again. In this Iull before the storm, let us gather the impression which Lord Airlie had made upon his companions in arms. Hitherto he had been recognised in the general routine of military practice as one who was slow in the formation of his judgments, but, once formed, was tenacious in their execution and particular in his attention to details; and while he had a boundless capacity for work, his courage, intrepidity. and dashing initiative were frankly acknowledged. Cool and fearless, the operations in the field of hostilities gave him the opportunity of proving the possession of these high soldierly qualities. "He appeared to me," as certified by one of his superior officers, "to possess in an extraordinary degree, every quality requisite in a great Cavalry leader." "His high and chivalrous qualities as a soldier and his brilliant attainments as a Cavalry leader and Commander" were commented on and commended by Lord (then Sir John) French, while his capability and courage were duly esteemed by his regiment, which, on being praised for its gallant behaviour at Magersfontein, threw all the glory on Lord Airlie, as was remarked: "It was the Colonel did it, the men will follow anywhere when he leads, because they trust him." But no less remarkable was the impression made upon all and sundry by his force of character, and the purity and goodness of his thought and life. Like his great ancestor, James, first Earl of Airlie, whose stern virtue and chastity of mind were a restraining influence in the Royalist Army, Lord Airlie, who resembled him in certain features of his disposition, exercised a similar power for good. An officer who before the war had only had a casual acquaintance with him, was thrown a good deal into his company on board the troopship on their way to South Africa, and he thus recorded his impressions:

"I never really knew him until the journey we made together when we were thrown in daily contact, and much as I admired his character I never knew until then what a man among men he was, and what an exceptionally fine character in every way. He taught me by his example to recognise that a fine soldier can be an earnest and God-fearing man into the bargain. In fact that to be the one you must be the other. I have never met anyone who so thoroughly carried out in his life the highest ideals of a Christian and a soldier."

Painfully exact in all his dealings, and strict to excess in self-discipline, ever depreciating his talents and attainments, and distrustful of his powers, he was yet generous and forbearing, sympathetic and considerate. ever ready to acknowledge good in others and to stimulate it in himself. Essentially spiritually minded, anything gross or even coarse in word or act was offensive to him. To be and to do good was the spirit of his life, the acme of his ambition. During his three weeks at Bloemfontein he was actively engaged visiting the hospitals, talking to and cheering the wounded, and he might have been seen almost every afternoon, on the issue of the Bloemfontein Post, with a large bundle of papers under his arm, like a newspaper-boy, to distribute among the men. By this and many other marks of kindness he endeared himself to the soldiers, while the general community remarked on his cheerful spirit and selfdenving activities.

On the night of Monday, 28th May, 1900, under a beautiful star-bespangled sky, the leaves of late autumn still drooping limply on the trees, with that nip in the air which comes with sundown, while the full-orbed moon shed its silvery light across the face of Nature, the Earl of Airlie left Bloemfontein in the track of the advancing army. Little recked he at the moment that war, which throughout his generations had imposed a heavy tribute on the fighting spirit of his ancestors, was yet again to exact a forfeiture of the family loyalty and devotion to King and country. Four days later he reported fit for duty and resumed the command of the 12th Lancers, who were rejoiced to have their dashing Colonel amongst them, whose intrepid bravery and cool courage acted as an inspiration to their traditional heroism. The Boers had been granted an armistice after the occupation of Pretoria, presumably on the ground that they might discuss the situation and probably propose overtures of peace, but instead they utilised the respite to strengthen

their position and place their guns, to such an extent and purpose that they forestalled its termination by opening a bombardment for which the British were not prepared. with the result that several guns were captured. The enemy were entrenched in a formidable position like unto a quarter-moon, while the land, heavy and boggy, sloped to the centre with a series of waving ridges. A difficult ground over which to lead an attack, made all the more perilous by being exposed on both flanks to the bullets of the enemy lining the trenches and the host of snipers concealed among the brushwood. It was the turn of the 12th Lancers for duty. The night before, Lord Airlie was made aware that he had a hazardous task in front of him, but he seemed rather pleased than distressed by the dangerous prospect. On the morning of 11th June. 1900, at the head of the regiment of which he was so proud, he opened the attack to recover the guns. Caught in an enfilading fire, the horse he rode was severely wounded, and on his attention being called to it, he rode back for another mount, only to find that the only one available was a "milk-white" horse he had been advised not to use as it made the rider an over-conspicuous target: but in the heat and excitement of the moment and without hesitation or reflection, he mounted and eagerly rejoined the Lancers. Amid shot and shell the position was rushed and the guns recaptured. On the achievement of his objective, Lord Airlie gave the order, "Files about -gallop!" and through a hail of bullets from the flanks and the rear they rode for all they were worth, but a moment later the "milk-white" horse was seen to be riderless, and when the stretcher-bearers traversed the ground later they found Lord Airlie lying on his face, shot in the region of the heart, and though still living, on being carried to a neighbouring farmhouse he immediately thereafter expired. Lord Roberts's despatch deploring "the death of that gallant soldier, the Earl of Airlie," was reminiscent of that of the Marquis of Montrose to Charles I. after the Battle of Inverlochy, where Sir Thomas Ogilvy, leading the cavalry charge, was mortally wounded, in which he wrote: "Your Majesty had never a truer Servant, nor there never was a braver, honester gentleman." The following was posted in Divisional Orders on receipt of the news of his death:

"The Lieutenant-General commanding, in the name of the whole Division, desires to express the deepest sympathy with the 12th Royal Lancers in the loss of their gallant and distinguished Commanding Officer, Colonel the Earl of Airlie, who was killed in action on the 11th instant while leading his Regiment in the attack. His high and chivalrous qualities as a soldier, and his brilliant attainments as a Cavalry leader and Commander, will cause his loss to be deeply felt throughout the Cavalry Service. The bright example he has left of untiring and unswerving devotion to duty, and his daring courage in war, will leave a lasting impression on all who have had the privilege of serving with him."

Agreeably to his expressed desire that should he meet a soldier's death he should be given a soldier's grave, his body was committed to its mother-earth at nightfall on Diamond Hill near where he fell, and on a little wooden cross that marked the place of rest was written:

# "Sans peur et sans reproche."

The Countess of Airlie—whose career subsequent to the death of her husband, interesting as it is and in some respects notable, must for the present be held in reserve in accordance with her express desire—returned to this country and took up her residence at Cortachy Castle, where as factor and commissioner for her son, David Lyulph, tenth Earl of Airlie, then seven years of age, she discovered to her friends that capacity for business which has brought her so prominently before the public mind.

# POSTSCRIPT

THE tale is told. It has been a long story, covering almost a thousand years. Many and varied have been the people whom we have met on our journey through this family history; many and great have been the movements in the national life which have engaged our attention—these and the part the Ogilvys have played in them, from the Battle of the Standard to the South African War, have been dealt with; and now, having made ourselves acquainted with that "evident testimonie of their loyaltie to their Prince that will make them famous to all succeeding generations," our story might naturally conclude, since, having approached the region of the living, where character is sacred, prudence dictates a becoming reticence; but as two members of the present generation of the House of Airlie have passed into history whose memory is worthy of being recorded, it may be advisable to link them with the past, especially as war again exacted tribute on the family loyalty.

The Great War of the Nations, in which all the members of the House were engaged, found Patrick Julian Harry Stanley Ogilvy, a youth who had just completed his eighteenth year, pursuing his studies with the view of entering Oxford in preparation for an academic or public career. In September, 1904, at the age of eight, he joined his brother at Stone-House School, where he speedily discovered to the master a ready aptitude for learning and zeal to excel. A diligent pupil of quick intelligence, he rapidly assimilated the elements of knowledge, and while he displayed a sound proficiency in general scholarship, excelled in classics and acquired with facility a familiar acquaintance with modern languages, especially French. During the five years he remained at Stone-House he made great progress, and





CAPTAIN PATRICK JULIAN HARRY STANLEY OGILVY.

# LADY MABELL OGILVY.

having gained a scholarship by open competition, proceeded to Wellington College, where he greatly dis-tinguished himself in classical literature and gave promise of meritorious distinction in the several branches of his intellectual pursuits. A pushful youth, realising that his future lay largely on the resources of his own activity, he was eager to board the possibilities that were in front of him, and, only in his eighteenth year, he encountered the problem of entering Oxford and passed successfully the entrance examination for Christ Church. Too young, it was thought, for the strong meat dealt out in that seminary of learning, and to perfect his knowledge now that he had decided to aspire to the field of diplomacy, accompanied by a tutor, he set out on foreign travel. There is no doubt, had he been free to follow his literary tastes and to explore the field of knowledge as he had intended, that he had it in him by force of intellect and natural ambition to achieve a leading place in the community of letters or in the theatre of politics. A forceful character, clear-headed, of quick and penetrating mind and a ready aptitude to seize every occasion of profit and interest, he gave evidence of scholarly attainment and culture. But what his destination might have been in the walk of life on which he had chosen to embark, hopeful as his prospects were and buoyant his energies, was diverted by the clash of arms and the roar of battle.

There was to be a family gathering at Cortachy Castle in August, 1914, for the coming of age of the Earl of Airlie, and for this Mr. Patrick Ogilvy had returned from abroad, intending to enter upon his Oxford studies in the autumn. In the midst of the twofold preparations came the cloud of threatening hostilities in Europe which rapidly darkened the horizon of the nations, and when Britain declared war on Germany, like the race from which he had sprung, all his cherished plans were at once abandoned and he immediately responded to his country's call. Hitherto, engrossed in his intellectual pursuits, he had not taken part in the usual military exercises at Wellington College, having no particular

taste, apart from cricket, football, and tennis, as he was not over-robust for heavy physical drill; but now, in a time of crisis, the traditional patriotism of his House gained the ascendant, and like his ancestors he at once took to arms. The day on which the momentous declaration appeared in the Press found him on the way to the nearest recruiting-station at Forfar, where he enlisted as a trooper in the Fife and Forfar Yeomanry, with which his grandfather had been identified. On the recruiting-sergeant receiving his name and address, it was suggested to him that he should apply for a commission, but to this he frankly demurred, stating that he preferred to earn such distinction on the strength of his merits as a common soldier. Had he been of a conventional type and less enthusiastic, he might have delayed joining up till the autumn, when through the Oxford Officers' Training Corps he could have achieved his purpose; but as this meant waiting and he wanted to be in harness at once, he chose the ranks. He very soon earned his commission. So assiduous was he and so keen in drill, that in the course of a month he was promoted, and shortly after was transferred to the Irish Guards. With this regiment, in the spring of 1916 he went to France, and in a short time was raised to the rank of Captain, when only twenty years of agesurely a record in those days of rapid promotion. 25th September following he was awarded the Military Cross for conspicuous gallantry in action, the Press notice stating that-

"he led his company with great dash, and on reaching the final objective was the Senior Officer in the front line. He dealt with a difficult situation with great skill and determination; consolidating his position and getting into touch with the Battalions on the flanks. All this was carried out under heavy shell fire."

With the exception of an occasional leave, Captain Patrick Ogilvy remained at the chief seat of the war, doing excellent work and earning commendation. Of a happy disposition and regarding life on its mirthful side, he was ever optimistic, cheerful, and full of encouragement to the men of his regiment, while his neverfailing good-humour and merry temperament were a source of unbounded delight in the stress of the campaign. The complete simplicity of his character, artless and unaffected, which revealed itself in his great courtesy of manner, won for him the esteem and regard of the soldiers, while his quick intelligence, ready adaptability, and resource in emergency and crisis, gave them confidence in his sagacity and courage. Though quite democratic in his turn of mind, disclosing a sympathetic attitude to the common everyday life and experience of the multitude, he had vet deeply entrenched in his nature that innate sensibility of the courtier begotten of long centuries of high breeding, while he did not conceal his pride in the ancient stock from which he was descended. Of his Highland lineage and the antiquity of his House he was naturally proud, while he revelled in the folklore of the district, and dearly loved the old songs and the quaint savings of his native glens. By taste and choice a scholar, steeped in the love of literature, he was by force of circumstances and the glow of patriotic fervour led to adopt the profession of arms. The change was easily made. As the tradition of his family was deeply embedded in his nature, the love of soldiering readily came to the surface when occasion demanded.

Through eighteen months he was at the front in the thick of the fight at Ypres. In the advances of July and September, 1917, he played his part before St. Julien and Langemarch, giving proof of the soundness of his judgment and sagacity. So far he had marvellously escaped injury on these and other perilous occasions, that it seemed as if he had borne a charmed life. Perhaps this good-fortune caused him to adventure over dangerous ground and run the risk of courage. The British force in this section with their French allies on the left, having tasted the fruit of success, had determined to push their advantage before the winter set in, and if possible bring Passchendaele within the reach of their guns; while the left wing of the British had to

negotiate the subjection of the Forest of Houthulst-a stronghold of the enemy. It was in the latter attack that Capain Patrick Ogilvy was engaged. Early on the morning of 7th October, the 1st Battalion of the Irish Guards moved from camp in the direction of Abingley Wood with the object of taking a blockhouse that screened the forest. It was a hard task, for it was heavily fortified, and to gain the objective meant a high price in casualties. The following night, in pitch-darkness and in pelting rain, the attack was opened, and by midday of the 9th. though at great cost, the blockhouse was in possession of the British, with a tale of six hundred prisoners and many machine-guns. Captain Patrick Ogilvy, who had led his company with great skill and gallantry, on achieving his purpose, at once began to consolidate the position and get into touch with the regiment on the right. It was while thus engaged that fate overtook him. Crossing the line of fire, he was shot through the stomach and shortly afterwards expired. On 9th October. 1917, in his twenty-second year, near Houthulst Forest, like so many of his family who had paid the penalty of war and the debt of patriotism, he died for freedom and honour.

A year later a charming daughter of the House followed him into the land of mysteries. One in life, death did not long separate them. Of great natural ability and more than ordinary intellectual power, with a mind desirous of information and bent on the pursuit of every kind of knowledge, and a nature saturated with the flavour of literature, romantic yet highly practical, of a rollicking humour and ready wit, of intensive impulse yet ever sagacious, shrewd, and discerning—Lady Mabell Ogilvy, the youngest of the daughters, like her maternal ancestress Lady Sarah Lennox, was possessed of rare and commanding qualities, being highly esteemed by the circle in which she lived as a woman of great mental energy, animated and vigorous, and marked by distinct lines of character, strong and pronounced, with an amiability of temper and a happy disposition after the manner of her race. Gracious and cordial, a true

child of Nature, with an unaffected simplicity which reflected the tastes, feelings, and temper of her mind, she was thoroughly unconventional, and while graced with a dignity becoming her station, was affable to a degree and perfectly self-possessed. The geniality of her disposition was markedly displayed in her intercourse with the people of the district, with whom she was on intimate terms, and in whose life she took a deep interest, the happy urbanity of her manner and her free-and-easy way amongst them gaining their confidence and esteem. The shrewdness of her intelligence and the open accessibility of her temper led her to appreciate their point of view and adapt herself to their particular circumstances. while her quick sense of humour and merry laughter made for kinship. Perhaps more than any other member of the family did she ingratiate herself in the hearts of the community, her high spirit and broad-minded sympathies having that touch of nature which goes to the healing of our social disparities and occasional discords —the surest antidote to class animosity.

A true lover of all natural objects, having the artistic eve and the poet's fancy, her mind revelled in the gorgeous scenery around Cortachy and Airlie Castles, was susceptible to the mystic call of the woodlands with their feathered throng. Dearly she loved the river, and her pulse had many a thrill as she swept its pools, sporting with their silvery tenants. Passionately fond of animals, she was devotedly attached to her dogs, her pony, and when she took to the hunt, a daring horsewoman, was greatly enamoured of her high-spirited mount, which, "snorting in his mettle and his pride," kept her well to the front, on one occasion securing for her the brush. Delighting in an open-air life, in communion with Nature, while she felt the gloomy interior of Cortachy Castle depressing, she rejoiced in the variegated picture of the Airlie lands, while to her the laughter of the breeze was exhilarating. It may be that the want of this healthful exercise through a period of strenuous activity in various forms of war-work was in large measure, if not the immediate cause, at least a contributory agent of the trouble to which she so unexpectedly succumbed.

In the spring of 1908, being then in her seventeenth year, Lady Mabell Ogilvy, accompanied by a governess, went on tour to Germany, where she revived memories of her childhood and contracted new impressions of Teutonic manners and customs; taking lessons in drawing, painting, and music; the while keeping her eyes open to what was passing around her, thereby enlarging her mental horizon and developing her wonderful power of discrimination. Naturally clever, shrewd, and discerning, with a quick sense of the humorous side of things, she easily detected the lugubrious character of the German people, and was not slow to exhibit in sportive fashion and in glowing colours their idiosyncrasies, predilections, and flabby heroics. Recognised in her immediate circle as an interesting personality, she came prominently before the public eye in 1911 on the Coronation of King George and Queen Mary; taking part in that stately function as a train-bearer to Her Majesty, and, as described in a society journal, "looking very beautiful in her dress of white satin with its trellis work of white trimmings and her hair adorned with a wreath of pearls." Always inclined for informative literature, she was a voracious reader of all sorts of books that afforded instruction and stimulated the intelligence, while her particular hobby at this time was the collection of first editions of her favourite authors, of which her library, now reverently preserved at Airlie Castle, contains a considerable number.

A delicate child of soft fibre, though she developed an apparently robust constitution, Lady Mabell Ogilvy was far from being strong, save in the vigour and strength of her character, and the full-hearted energy of all her engagements in study, sport, and all the joys of sense. To whatever she set her mind or put her hand, being at once of a sensitive temperament and deeply conscientious, she brought to bear all the force of which she was capable, with the result that she very frequently exhausted her physical resources. A spacious soul, bright

as the day, high-strung and exuberant of spirit, restless in all her activities and ever eager to be of service, when war was declared in 1914, in characteristic fashion she threw herself with all her might into the work of recruiting and the operations of the Red Cross. Rejoicing at the time in good health, the result of having spent from midwinter to late spring in the South of France, Gibraltar, and parts of Spain-Algeciras and Granada-like many others of her class she responded with alacrity to the call for war-workers, and, as was her nature. laboured indefatigably in several branches of military enterprise. First joining the Charity Organisation Society, she soon deserted this for work more immediately connected with actual hostilities, and found scope for the fertility of her active mind in the Voluntary Aid Department at Devonshire House. But even this clerical employment, arduous as it was, went by the board when she came to hear that cooks were urgently needed in the hospitals; so into the kitchen she went whole-heartedly. even beyond the measure of her strength. Anything that was needing to be done Lady Mabell Ogilvy was always willing to do. It was not taste but necessity that inspired and guided her. Where she was needed there she When, therefore, a scheme for feeding prisoners was launched and committed to the Red Cross, on workers being called for she volunteered her service. This proved to be an arduous task, the duty unremitting. Through every day and often far into the night, in a close and sultry atmosphere, she laboured incessantly, the life and soul of the packing department. A maid of the mountains for whom every breeze had mirth in it, this close confinement gradually undermined her health and exhausted a physical constitution at no time robust. The indomitable courage and deep sense of duty which animated all her motions constrained her to labour when she ought to have rested. Even an occasional furlough was mostly spent in stimulating local efforts to alleviate the lot of the soldier. The spirit indeed was willing if the flesh was weak. Peremptory orders by her medical adviser that she must desist from so exhausting work had a characteristic response by finding rest in a change of employment; leaving the Prisoners' Parcels Department for duty in the War Office. Strong-willed and determined of purpose, for her absence of occupation was not rest; her active mind and buoyant spirit to be happy must needs have exercise. The tide of battle had turned, the enemy at all points was on the run, victory was looming in the distance. This cheered her; but instead of relaxing her efforts, ever unselfish and a devotee to duty, it held her to her post, resolved to do what she could for King and country after the tradition of her House.

Lady Mabell Ogilvy, who for months had been fighting against an infirmity of the body without murmur or complaint, the brave spirit within her dominating the weakness of the flesh, was not spared to see the Armistice and to rejoice in the triumph of right over might. On the altar of duty she placed the sacrifice of a self-denying life. In a nursing-home in London, on 4th November, 1918, at the age of twenty-six, a bright soul, radiant as the sun, full of great thoughts, redolent with the highest aspirations, passed from all earthly fellowship into the Communion of Saints. Amid the mild autumnal rays of St. Martin's summer, her body was laid to rest in Hambleden Churchyard, Henley-on-Thames.

## APPENDIX II.

#### LORD COUPAR

"When approaching eighty, and scarcely two years before his death. he had the misfortune to marry a young lady of quality. who boldly resolved, under cloak of law, and in spite of nature, which refused its aid to 'the poor old man,' to be the mother of a Lord Coupar. With this view she inveigled her spouse into a conveyance of his honours and estates upon an Exchequer resignation (to the exclusion of Lord Balmerinoch, his next heir. whom she artfully estranged from him) 'in favour of herself. and any whom she should please to marrie.' In this manner the notable Baroness, while the 'delectus personæ' was in her. instead of the Crown, not only promoted the above object, but facilitated the chance of forming an advantageous match. But it unfortunately happened that the Peer, whose demise she ardently desired, gone in body as in mind, was labouring under a mortal malady, in other words, was on his deathbed at the critical moment, which of course, voided the conveyance that thus became a dead letter, and excluded any confirmation or intervention by the Crown. It must indeed be confessed that the state of this nobleman was piteous enough. At the time of granting the disposition he 'wes several nyghts waked, and the minister was called to pray for him, whiche he wes never in use to doe before.' In order to counteract the law of deathbed. his tender helpmate resolved that he should go to 'Kirk and Market,' which with us here operates as an exception, but it was objected that he went 'supported' which again is fatal to the plea-although her Ladyship replied that this was not 'ex impatientia mortis' but owing to the accidental storminess of the day which had even the force to break 'the Kirk bell.' After 'cruciating the poor old nobleman' by the expedient, and at length reaching the church, 'he was not able to goe up to his owne seat but sat in Crimon's seat near the door with his furred cap, and the whole people who beheld him looking on him as a dead man. Lykas in his return, he was not onlie supported, but having swearved and foundered, he was carried into his house on an armed chyer when he had almost expyred had not brandie and cannell wine revived his spirits, which was poured in at his mouth, his teeth being halden open with a knyfe.' Owing to these circumstances the law of deathbed prevailed . . . upon an action of reduction at the instance of Lord Balmerinoch, the heir at law.'—Peerage and Consistorial Law.

# APPENDIX III.

# ACT REVERSING ATTAINDER

"An Act to restore David Ogilvy, Esq., and others from the effect of the Attainders of James, eldest son of David Earl of Airlie, and of David Ogilvy, taking upon himself the Title of Lord Ogilvy. (26th May, 1826.)

No. 220. Anno 7. George 4th.

WHEREAS by an Act of Parliament passed in the first year in the reign of his Majesty, King George First, instituted an Act for the Attainder of George, Earl of Mareschal, William, Earl of Seaforth, James, Earl of Southesque, James, Earl of Panmure and others of High Treason, unless they shall surrender themselves to justice by a day certain therein mentioned: James Ogilvy commonly called Lord Ogilvy, the eldest son of David, Earl of Airlie, was attainted of High Treason in respect of that he did not surrender himself in Terms of the said Act. AND WHEREAS by an Act passed in the nineteenth year of the reign of His Majesty, King George Second, instituted:-An Act to attaint Alexander, Earl of Kellie, David Ogilvy, taking upon himself the Title of Lord Ogilvy, and others of High Treason if they shall not surrender themselves to one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace on or before the Twelfth day of July in the year of Our Lord One thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, and submit to Justice. The said David Ogilvy taking upon himself the Title of Lord Ogilvy, who was the eldest son of John, styled Earl of Airlie, was attainted of High Treason, he having failed to surrender himself in terms of the said Act.

AND WHEREAS the said James Ogilvie attainted by the said Act passed in the Reign of King George First and the said David Ogilvie attainted by the said Act of the nineteenth year of the Reign of King George Second, have both deceased and their Issue Male become extinct. AND WHEREAS David Ogilvie, Esq., now of Airlie is the person who would be entitled to the said Honours and Dignities but for the effect of the said Attainders. AND WHEREAS the said David Ogilvie is not

descended of either of the said attainted Persons and he and his immediate Ancestors have upon all occasions conducted themselves dutifully and lovally towards your Majesty and your Royal Predecessors: May it therefore please your Majesty that it may be enacted and be ENACTED by the King's Most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same THAT the said David Ogilvie now of Airlie and all other persons who would be entitled after the said David Ogilvie to succeed to the Honours. Dignities, and Titles of Earl of Airlie and Lord Ogilvie of Alith and Lintrathen in case the said Acts had not been made shall be restored to all Honours and Dignities and Titles with all Rights, Priviliges and Pre-eminences thereunto belonging as fully amply and honorably as if the said Acts had never been made any Impediment, Judgement Corruption of Blood cause or matter in anywise to the contrary notwithstanding, PRO-VIDED always and be it ENACTED that nothing shall enable or be construed to enable the said David Ogilvie or any other of the Persons hereby restored in Blood to claim by virtue of this Act any real or Personal property or any other Right from which he or they is or are now barred or excluded by the said Attainders or either of them."

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